

SOCIAL FORCES

October, 1940

THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND THE FORMULATION OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY*

M. L. WILSON

United States Department of Agriculture

IN THESE rapidly changing times there should be a close tie between sociologists and all workers in the field of education. There are many brands of sociological theory, of educational sociology, and of educational institutions. The fact that there are wide variations in ideas in both the theoretical and applied aspects of sociology is a good sign, and it is not to be wondered at that those people who are on the action front in both educational programs and social betterment programs, are sometimes confused by conflicting theoretical positions among the sociologists, and sometimes feel that aside from economic and political science, the social sciences have little to contribute towards their problems in action, administration, and policy formation. There are several signs in these changing times which lead me to feel that all of the social sciences are now in process of integration and developing a harmony among them which will give them much closer relationships than they have had hitherto to the active programs of Government and of group action in our present-day civilization.

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940, by Conrad Taeuber, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

A little more than three-quarters of a century ago Congress passed the Land Grant College Act which authorized the organization of a Land Grant College in each State. A study of the legislation and discussions in Congress regarding this Act of the Lincoln Administration clearly indicates that Congress wanted these colleges to be colleges of the common people, and to be closely related to the agricultural and industrial walks of life. A little more than 50 years ago Congress made provision for State Agricultural Experiment Stations. Last year there was celebrated the 25th anniversary of the passage of the Smith-Lever Act which brought into existence the agricultural Extension Service. The Extension Service was broadly conceived as an instrument primarily but not wholly of adult education through which, by means of the educational process, all rural people would be given the opportunity of learning the results of scientific research and scientific thinking as related to agriculture, and that out of this all would grow a rural civilization based upon scientific knowledge,—a civilization in which rural people would have a way of living which gave opportunity for individual and group realization of the best values inherent within them.

This system of agricultural extension has had remarkable acceptance on the part of the general public and the farmers of the country. From small beginnings in 1914 it has reached the point now where its total budget is \$32,000,000,—a considerable sum by comparison with expenditures for agricultural education of an older generation, but by no means out of proportion when considered in comparison with expenditures for public schools or college education, or when considered in relation to the 6,500,000 farm families throughout the country. As a matter of fact, the growth in the total budget of the Nation for agricultural extension work has not kept pace with the increased expenditures in the field of College and Public School education.

There are now employed nearly 9,000 extension workers, county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, county club leaders, State Extension specialists, and Extension specialists of various types, both State and national. I believe that in the related field of Smith-Hughes vocational high school education there are also approximately 8,000 teachers of agriculture and home science.

The grand total budget for the current fiscal year in the Southern States, those including and lying east of Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, and south of Virginia and Kentucky, is \$12,500,000. You see, therefore, that there has gradually evolved a very great and important system of adult education for rural people.

During the past seven or eight years Congress has passed a number of Acts which have set up Federal activities on behalf of rural people that in many respects greatly affect their lives and in so doing are giving a kind of conscious direction to rural life and rural society. I shall not attempt to enumerate all of these great Federal agencies. There is

the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which is seeking to bring about a balance in our agricultural economy, to stabilize income, and give a fair relation between agriculture and the remainder of the industrial life of the Nation. There is the Farm Security Administration which is working primarily with the underprivileged, and through administration of the Bankhead-Jones Act is endeavoring to reverse the trend from increasing tenancy to increasing farm ownership. The Soil Conservation Service is working to reduce the destructive erosion of the soils of the Nation. The Rural Electrification Administration is endeavoring to make electricity available to farm homes. Likewise, several other Federal action agencies are seeking in their particular fields to improve the conditions of rural life.

Nearly all of these administrative agencies are endeavoring to develop some type of local and State responsibility, and some type of relationship, local and State. Nearly all of these action agencies of the Department of Agriculture have local and State committees which are assisting them in adjusting their programs to local needs.

One of the most important of the new activities is the development of land use planning on a county, State, and national level. Planning the use of land and relating the uses which natural and economic forces more or less determine to the needs of the people who live on the land seems to be a basic activity which lies underneath most of the educational and administrative programs in agriculture.

Space does not permit my giving an elaborate description of the set-up, the structure, and the functioning of land-use planning on the county level, on the State level, and on the national level. Most of you understand that the county

committee is made up of farsighted farm men and women, of representatives of the local administrative agencies of the Department of Agriculture, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, etc. The county agent acts as secretary of this committee. The State Extension Director is chairman of the State Committee. It, likewise, is composed of outstanding farm men and women who represent the different types of agriculture within the State, and representatives of the various action agencies of the Department of Agriculture. There is another committee in the Department of Agriculture which is quite similar to the committees which I have outlined, which functions in the national Department of Agriculture in a manner similar to that functioning on the State level, and on the local level. Every effort is being made, particularly on the State level and on the local level, to integrate and bring into democratic relationships the ideas and aspirations of the people on the land, and the technicians and research workers.

Now, this approach as it works out in the Southern States should be of tremendous interest to Southern sociologists. Here is what I believe to be the beginnings of a truly democratic and practical approach to the attack on the fundamental problems in agriculture: first, through a fact-finding process which is participated in by both farm people and technical and research people; and secondly, an attempt is being made to relate the findings and recommendations which come from this process to the administration of the national programs insofar as the legal structures of these organizations permit.

This approach is going to call upon the social sciences to give all that they are prepared to give. I think it is going to

stimulate research in the social sciences tremendously, but is going to place on the social sciences responsibilities for concrete results which can be translated into action, and it will no doubt tend to stimulate a search for some common fundamental basis for attack. I think that the basis for this fundamental attack lies in what is coming to be called the "cultural approach." There is a basis for understanding here which I think can be most useful and most helpful. It is for this reason that I have great admiration for the kind of thing which is being done by those cultural anthropologists and social psychologists who are endeavoring concretely and objectively to study our own culture, using an adaptation of the methods which have been used in the study of primitive and foreign cultures. While some of the sociologists in recent years have laid much stress on the concept of culture, I don't think they have gotten this idea across, either to the other sociologists, or to the other workers in the social sciences. Why is it so difficult to get this cultural concept so it becomes a working principle? I think the difficulty lies in our inability to clearly see ourselves and to perceive the nonmaterial and intangible thing which is our culture. We get to know about culture, therefore, in a comparatively concrete way by seeing other cultures, and perceiving their structures and their processes. Through this comparative method—comparative anatomy, so to speak—we can derive the tools and techniques to arrive at some understandings relative to our own culture.

Early this spring I was driving through the south central part of Texas, and came very suddenly upon a farmstead at the roadside which had a very beautiful stone house. There was a fine large garden with a chicken-tight fence around it. At the side of the house there was a large

clump of fruit trees, and back of the house was a good-sized well-kept barn. This farmstead struck me as being very different from what I had been seeing as we drove along the road. The next three or four farmsteads were similar to the one I just described. I said to my traveling companion, a native Texan, "Why are these new stone houses, large gardens, and neat farmsteads?" "Well," he said, "this is the Fredericksburg Community. It is made up of Germans who settled here in the 1840's and 1850's. Most of them live in this kind of house. They raise good gardens when the rest of us don't seem to be able to raise gardens. They have been carrying on a satisfactory live-at-home program for nearly 100 years. "But," he said, "they are a peculiar people. They are not like the rest of the farm people in Texas."

Cultural islands like this one at Fredericksburg, Texas, are interesting because they serve to emphasize cultural contrasts. There are many others scattered through the South, such as the Germans in Warren County, North Carolina; or at Waldense, North Carolina; the Swiss at Helvetia, West Virginia; Bohemians in Southern Texas; the Germans and Swiss at Dutch Fork, South Carolina; the French in Louisiana; or the Quakers near Greensboro, North Carolina. An outsider who comes to one of these communities recognizes at once that the people are different from their neighbors or from himself. There is a sharp contrast, but I think I can say without fear of contradiction that your ideas and my ideas, and the way you and I live, look just as strange to them as their ideas and their way of life look to us. If you were to ask the people at Fredericksburg, Texas, they would probably tell you that they do not want to share what they might call the "shiftlessness" of their neighbors any more than

these same neighbors want to share the unending toil and self-denial which are cardinal virtues in the Fredericksburg scheme of life, as the cultural anthropologists term it; the culture of this community of descendants of German immigrants of nearly a hundred years ago.

Now, cultural anthropologists and sociologists who have the cultural viewpoint should be the people to tell us why this community of farmers, three and four generations removed from Germany live as they do, although their neighbors on all sides have a different mode of life, a different culture. Why do they carry on a live-at-home program of a high order, when their American neighbors don't have such a program, even though the Extension Service has been preaching "live-at-home" ever since it first began over twenty-five years ago? Why do they have well kept homes and fields with little soil erosion, when all about them houses are in poor repair and fields are eroded and much less carefully tilled?

Cultural anthropologists and some sociologists have given much scientific study to these and similar problems in rural life, and have evolved some principles which meet the tests of science and which throw considerable light on them. They would insist, and I agree with them, that the explanation cannot lie in such biological factors as racial origin, or in geographic factors of soil and climate. They would ask, for example, why some rich agricultural lands are inhabited by healthy, happy, farm people living in security and enjoying the benefits of a rich community life and why some others are inhabited by ill-fed and ill-housed farm people with insecure tenure on the land and with the most meager community life. Nor would they accept as an answer, the statement, "They are that kind of people," which is another way of saying

that they were born with these differences already determined, or, to put it in popular terms, that "blood will tell." Rather they would look to the cultural factors, to national origins, religious backgrounds, social conventions, economic habits, family organization; to the manner in which the people in each group are born, live, love, play, think, work, worship, and die; what they believe, what they consider right and wrong, what they value highly, what wins social approval and how this approval is expressed—in short, their culture.

Culture in this sense, as the term is used by the cultural anthropologist, and as sociologists know, refers not only to the aesthetic or the finer things in life, but covers the whole range of material things, and the habits, attitudes, and values in which these things are set and which condition their function in the life of the community, as well as the social arrangements which man has developed.

It might be said that culture includes the whole of man's social behavior as it can be observed in the group life of human beings. This includes (1) the machines and skills and methods by which men make a living, (2) the customs and habits and organizations by which people live together in a community (for if there were no rules and standards of behavior people simply could not live together, and (3) religious beliefs, values, and practices. As the English anthropologist Tylor put it in his classical definition, culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." This definition seems to omit the material things. If they were included, this definition would be complete.

As one studies the many cultural systems that are to be found, one is impressed

with the effort which man has made to keep his culture integrated—to preserve a balance among the various aspects in their relations to each other. All parts of a culture are related to all other parts and the effects of an important change in one element will eventually be reflected in the other parts. Elaborate theories have been built up to show how changes in the culture, as a whole, result from changes in the economic, the technological, or the religious spheres, and many are the arguments over whether changes in the ways of producing food are responsible for changes in ideas, or whether changes in ideas also produce changes in the ways of producing food. Illustrations of this latter type of change are not hard to find. Consumers become conscious of vitamins and many farmers shift their production; the length of skirts affects the demand for cotton, just as the vogue of slenderness in the human figure affects the demand for wheat. Many a farmer today is buying a tractor because that is the way to keep his prestige or to keep the boy on the farm, even though he may doubt that for him the tractor is economically justified. I don't subscribe to the doctrine that one or another element in culture is primary and all others follow in its wake. I do know that anyone who proposes to make any changes in one part of a culture, such as methods of techniques of farming or institutional changes in land use must be prepared for changes in other parts as well, for when the existing balance is disturbed every effort will be made to bring about a new balance.

The balance between the parts of a culture becomes especially important in relation to the central value system, the elements which constitute the something for which men live as contrasted to the things with which they live. To disturb the central values of any group, those for

which people live and are willing to sacrifice their lives, is to disrupt the entire culture and to threaten the physical survival of the group. The history of the contact of Europeans with the primitive peoples of all parts of the world is full of illustrations of this point. And it happens just as much within groups of highly civilized peoples as within any other. We need but look at some of the major trouble spots in American agriculture today to see the correctness of that observation.

Are our farmers and farm cultures today, as they are shifting from prescientific folkways to science, mechanical technology, and scientific folkways, in the same fundamentally confused state that the Navajos were when they tended flocks of sheep, but did not understand overgrazing?

The core of any culture is the value-system which is not nearly as subject to change as the technological or economic aspects of our life. It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of these value-systems. Here are bound together the ideas which give meaning to the activities, the stresses and strains of everyday life. Frequently they are difficult to detect, but anything that challenges them is likely to meet with resistance or open hostility. The fact that the value-systems, like other parts of the culture, are acquired almost as easily as the oxygen we breathe, makes it more difficult to be fully aware of them and always to take them into account. The mere fact that they are anchored so deeply below all the speech reactions and the rationalizations of everyday life, however, makes it very important that they be recognized and understood.

One big contribution which the student of cultures can make to the problems of agriculture is through the emphasis on

the importance of the value-systems of different distinct communities and farm groups. These value-systems are probably the key to most of the differences in modes of living between various contrasting communities and distinct groups. A speculative and exploitive economy is unlike one in which security and conservation are major goals,—in fact they are so unlike each other that you can tell them apart simply by looking at such externals as the way the fields are cultivated, the condition of the buildings, the repair of the fences, the size and character of the gardens and fruit trees, etc. There have been and are in American agriculture large groups of farmers who consider ownership of the land as a primary value for which they will make almost any sacrifice. At the other end of the scale there are large groups to whom current consumption (food, clothing, automobiles, recreation, etc.) is more important than ownership of land or the ability to transmit a plot of it to the next generation. Some farm groups have considered the borrowing of money as a major calamity; others have looked upon borrowing as a normal aspect of the annual cycle of production.

When cultural anthropology as applied to agriculture—agricultural cultural anthropology, if you please—can get its place in agricultural research, then we will begin to understand something about the various basic differences in value systems in American agriculture. For example, there is the difference between those who view farming as a more or less self-contained "way of life" and those who see it simply as another way of making an income. Some farmers are concerned primarily with the opportunities which farm life offers for satisfactory living and the flowering of individual capacities and happiness and are only secondarily a part of the price and market economy, and

while other farmers are concerned chiefly with this price and market economy and go just as far as possible to turn the farm into an efficient factory for converting soil resources, water, air and sunlight into products which will have some exchange value in the market place. An agricultural program and a land use program designed for one of these groups may work very badly when applied to the other or even have an effect directly opposed to that which is desired.

The cultural approach to any problem not only seeks to understand the dominant value system but it looks on the ways of living in a society as a whole of inter-related parts. It sees every element as related to every other in the total organization of ways of behaving, and a change in one element as affecting other parts of the total. You cannot introduce into any given culture some new items without expecting effects in many parts of it. The introduction of the automobile, for example, has affected all aspects of rural life: buying and selling, participation in school, church, and club; visiting and use of leisure time; family relations, the attitude toward workstock and relatively simple machinery; the police power and functions of local and central government; attitudes toward government and law enforcement, conceptions of politeness and good manners, methods of securing social prestige, the geographical mobility of rural people, and many others. Obviously, some changes are more easily made than others. In modern America we are more receptive to new mechanical devices and in agriculture to changes in the techniques of production, than to changes in our value-systems, which are usually so charged with an emotional tone that merely to examine them arouses resistance. But I am convinced that if it were known how fundamental changes

in the value-systems of different groups take place, then democratic educational processes would be able to bring about changes in agricultural practices, which we consider desirable, far more effectively than by any amount of tinkering with the separate parts of the economic, political, or technological systems which frequently seems to be considered as the best means to improvement. The criteria for value systems rest as much or more on philosophy and religion as they do on natural science.

Every agricultural extension worker is familiar with the story of the backwoods farmer whose answer to proffered advice on farm practices was simply, "Son, I don't need none of your learnin'; I ain't farming half as good as I know how right now." I think the story of this man is pertinent here. He didn't value knowledge for its own sake, nor did he prefer ignorance as such. But if he were to adopt any new practice, he would need to be shown how it fits into his scheme for living or his value system. The fact that some professor at the experiment station had given his blessing to the proposed practice was not important to this man. He would adopt it when he was convinced that it would better enable him to accomplish the major objectives which are part of his value-system: to make more money, to have better crops or cleaner fields or better equipment than his neighbors, to have more time to sit on the porch, to have the satisfaction of doing a better job, to enhance his feeling of his own importance, to increase his security, to give his children a better chance, to feed his family better, or what ever else they may include. To convince him of this, of course, requires a knowledge of the value system of the individual, or the group which he represents. To assume that

his values necessarily are the same as those of the worker who offers the advice, or that he is necessarily chiefly interested in increasing his income or comforts is to make as grave a mistake as to assume that they do not exist. Moreover, attempting to see the culture as a whole imposes on the worker a consideration of the implication of the changes which he is proposing. Is he willing to recommend the change in the value-systems of the group which may be implied by the proposed change in practices?

A recognition of this point of view about the importance of knowing the culture of the group, carries with it a recognition of the fact that agricultural extension work, like any other educational activity, cannot combat culture or cultural trends. Any educational program works best by sinking its roots deep into the culture and injecting its contribution in such a way that ultimately it permeates through the whole instead of imposing something from above or from the outside.

A study of culture frequently seems to put a brake on any type of action, for cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and sociologists are constantly pointing out how difficult it is to bring a new element into the culture, if the attempt is made in the wrong way. But appreciation of how culture really works can make of that knowledge a means for facilitating cultural change. The greatest need in agricultural research today is for scientific knowledge regarding the various farm cultures and the value system within them. The skillful political office seeker recognizes this cultural concept when he attempts to identify his own objectives with the accepted basic values of the group which he is attempting to influence. As Carl Taylor put it recently, "When the structural and functioning patterns of communities are violated by

outside pressure, local resistance develops; when they are used or amplified, local assistance is guaranteed." The best way to modify a whole cultural system is for the educational processes to work within it, not to attack it broadside. The most effective way to work within any cultural setting is to show how a program developed cooperatively by the group and the experts contributes to the solution of the problems of the persons and groups involved.

In agricultural extension work we are concerned with developing the new out of the old, we recognize the very great significance of the culture, because we are convinced that this provides the surest way to progress. I am certain that if the agricultural practices of the South are to be remade, this will come about primarily through the leadership of Southern educational workers who fully appreciate the cultural setting out of which the present systems developed and who nonetheless keep before themselves a new set of objectives—a new set of value systems to grow out of the old.

This matter of working within the culture is exactly what we are trying to do through the Land Use Planning Program, in which extension workers, technical experts, and farmers are combining their efforts in order to bring about a clear realization of what it is that is desired by the farmers themselves and how these desires can be met. Such planning presupposes a sort of two column inventory with land in one column, described as to character, class, grade, and possible uses, and people in the other column with their several biological, economic, and cultural needs. Now county and State committees of farmers, their wives, and technical experts and administrative people in the land grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture, by means of

free and frank discussion and group thinking about problem stating and problem solving, move these two columns back and forth like a slide rule in order to get the highest standard of living for the people from the best use of the land. This is a program in which we do not diagnose a patient who hadn't sent for the doctor, but the diagnosis is being made only as the people who are affected are aware of the problems and help describe the symptoms. It is a process whereby the scientific specialist tests his contributions in the light of common sense and in the light of the experience and needs of the people concerned—in short, in the light of the local culture. We are trying to avoid the difficulties which arise when the scientist or the expert comes down to the local area to tell the farmer what to do, often forgetting entirely that on the farm, life is lived as a whole and all parts of it must be meshed together in accordance with the value-systems which are in operation. Although we call it a Land Use Program, we are thinking of it as a program in which the people and their culture are of primary concern, for human welfare is the basic objective of most of our so-called action programs.

Above all, we are trying to keep in mind that the people themselves along with their habits, customs, traditions, and attitudes are the primary factors in the explanation of how maladjustments have come into existence and that they will be the controlling factors in making any adjustments. We have in the past talked a great deal about human and social effects of the maladjustments which are implied by soil erosion, improper land use, farm abandonment, rural poverty, etc., but we have tended to forget that human and social factors—the attitudes and habits of the people—are usually basic to these maladjustments.

The analysis of the psychological, sociological, and cultural factors seems more difficult because we have not yet learned readily to express them in quantitative terms and because the analysis of these factors demands more subtle processes than the analysis of purely physical factors. But, as the county and State committees, the land-grant colleges, and the United States Department of Agriculture are moving ahead with the Land Use Planning programs, it is being found more and more that experts and planners must sit down and talk over matters with the farmers. Recognition must be given to these factors and an integrated approach must be used which tries to see the culture as an indivisible whole.

This type of activity which agricultural extension workers have been developing for a long time helps them further to improve the outstanding work which they have been doing. This is somewhat different from extension work as it was originally thought of. In a few areas today, and in some areas in the past, county agents have rendered primarily special and individual services, being in a sense cafeteria workers who served up advice on sheep, diseases of cattle, spraying of fruit trees, laying out of terraces, and on many other special topics as this advice was needed. Gradually, under the impact of action programs, and changing agricultural situations, they found that their field of service could be much enlarged by working through groups with a somewhat broader set of problems. This program now leads them still further in the direction of considering not only isolated problems relating to farm income, farm practices, conservation, and the like, but requires that they become social engineers aware of and dealing constructively with the whole interrelationships in the cultural setting.

We no longer are willing to have the highly specialized specialist come to the farm with his own special program and apply it as a solution for all the problems of rural life, thereby neglecting all other considerations. The proposals of the specialist are desirable, in fact necessary, in themselves, as, for example, the eradication of liver fluke, the conservation of wild life, the planting of trees, the promotion of hybrid seed corn, the use of tractors or tractor equipment, promoting handicrafts, cash crops, etc.; but, if their net effect is to throw a culture out of balance, then their value may be zero. If the thing proposed involves debt and expenditures where there is no income, it may do more harm than good.

We have seen too much of proposals which overlook the fact that the farmer, like the average citizen, lives life as a whole—not as 10 percent chemist, 10 percent economist, 10 percent conservationist, 10 percent agronomist, 10 percent veterinary, 10 percent accountant, etc. Moreover, we have learned through experience that again and again programs which in themselves appeared to be desirable have overlooked this matter of the culture of the people and have, therefore, failed to be of much service to the people whose problems they intended to solve. We have also seen how quickly a program superimposed from outside builds up resistance unless it meets a real need of the people and fits into their culture patterns.

If extension workers are to function effectively in diagnosing and working with a culture as a whole, they need the help of those social scientists who are willing and able to make careful studies of the nature and characteristics of culture and cultural processes. We have studied physical, chemical, and biological aspects of farm problems at great length and

know a great deal about soils, fertility, capillary actions, animal breeding, plant diseases, and the like, and new discoveries are coming constantly. Later we turned to marketing, for there seemed little point in expanding the production of goods which were increasingly difficult to sell. Again we found that we were dealing with a special field and were not taking into account the whole range of problems which are so closely interrelated that we could not expect or promote changes in one phase of the whole without recognizing the interrelationships to others.

In much of the planning work that has been done, it has been a foregone conclusion that every area or region is different because of dissimilar physical and economic conditions and opportunities. There are cultural areas, as well as physiographic, land use, and type of farming areas. *These cultural areas are distinct, in that they have customs, traditions, standards of living, folk lore, and values which they cherish and which should not be interfered with lightly. In some cases, modern scientific planning and action programs based upon value systems foreign to the culture may not only fail to promote the culture of the region, but actually serve to destroy it. This need not be so, but it will be if cultural and social factors are not given equal consideration with physical and economic factors.*

But how can due consideration be given to the customs, traditions, and attitudes of the people if they are not known directly? How can we know what they are any more than we can know facts about physical conditions without detailed study? Many persons who would be unwilling to give quick judgments concerning characteristics of the soil or the influence of certain physical factors upon each other are none the less willing to make or to accept horseback impressions when it comes to cultural factors.

I think it is safe to say that you could ride along the road and form sounder judgments concerning the elements that go to make up some of the physical situations than you could those which go to make up the more subtle psychological and cultural situations.

We agricultural extension workers need a great deal of the help which sociologists, social psychologists, and cultural anthropologists can give us. What are the individual attitudes which are favorable or resistant to change, and how can they be most effectively modified? What motivations can and should agricultural education use and how? How fast can cultural change proceed without disrupting the stability of the culture itself? What can educational processes in agriculture do to bridge the apparent gap between the changes in the technological and economic spheres and in the non-material spheres of life? What are the value-systems of the groups with which we deal? What are the values which would be affected by the attempt to turn farming more completely into a rationalized efficient enterprise? What are the folkways of our economic and governmental process and how do they operate in the life of the farmer? These are only some of the questions on which we need some light, and I have great hopes that we are going to develop a new integrated science of man which will be concerned with such matters.

The development of such a science of man is still one of the needs of the future, for social scientists generally have narrowed their view to such an extent that they have not seen the culture as a living dynamic whole. If the social scientist are to make their contributions to this

whole large-scale attempt to work with farm problems upon which we are now engaged, they must recognize the wholeness of farm problems. Specialization is a matter of convenience and makes for greater precision; but, when it puts blinders on the social scientist and makes him forget the social matrix from which a problem comes, it defeats its purpose. When we have a farm problem that seems on the surface to be wholly an economic matter, we may safely conclude that it is shot through and through with aspects that are political, sociological, cultural, psychological, philosophical, and even religious.

I have a definite conviction that the most fruitful research into the problems of rural life will have little regard for the traditional limits of present-day social science disciplines, but that it will rather *go ahead with the cultural approach, attempting to get at an integrated view of life as it flows along.* It will seek to define and understand cultural patterns which have developed and the techniques by which the cultures can be modified to make more desirable adjustments. Above all, it will concentrate upon the mainsprings of a culture of any area or group of people, namely, the system of values with which they operate. The social scientists must forget their jurisdictional disputes and overcome the tendency to shy away from problems at the margin of their fields, and they must strive more and more to look upon life as a whole and seek to understand the whole of the culture. If they will do that, they will be sure to make a major and urgently needed contribution to the solution of our farm problems.

EDUCATION AND THE GOOD SOUTH*

EDWIN R. EMBREE

Julius Rosenwald Fund

WHEN I think of the South, I think of a way of life. I know there are ills and problems: tenancy, race conflict, inadequate industry, lack of wealth, needy services in schools, libraries, health, recreation. I know there are also great natural resources: 551 millions of acres of fertile land in the most advantageous portion of the temperate zone, abundant rainfall and water power, rich minerals and forests. These acute problems and these rich resources have been discussed on many occasions and will continue to be debated as long as there are sociological societies and as long as there is a South. Here I want to interrupt the detailed studies of the social scientists long enough to fix attention on the broad question of what kind of life we picture as worthy and feasible in this great region we love.

I do not apologize for introducing a question of human values to scientists. I refuse to debate the futile question of pure research versus applied science, although in passing I point out the close biological correlation between purity and sterility and utter a wistful plea that we do not strive to get only mules into our social science faculties. I simply rest my case on the solid ground of the recognized relation between research and human needs in such established sciences as medicine, chemistry, and physics, and point out that the great achievements of public health, industry, agriculture, and engineering rest directly upon scientific studies. What is true in the natural

sciences is even more fundamentally true in the social sciences, namely, that research, however recondite, finds its ultimate justification in its service to man.

As, therefore, we work on details and problems, let us keep before us a picture of our ultimate goal, the Good South. To my mind the characteristic elements are, first, an emphasis on rural life, and second, the concept that success consists not merely in material prosperity but chiefly in a rich and satisfying way of life. These are broad, almost pompous terms. Let us see if we can give them some definite and sensible outlines.

The first is fairly simple. We know that the South is chiefly rural—more distinctly so than any large region in the nation. Approximately three-fourths of the total population of the states of the Old South live in villages of less than 2500 people or right out in the open country. This is in sharp contrast, for example, to the Northeast which is more than three-fourths urban, or the Midwest which is well above 60 percent urban, including in both those regions a congestion into superurban metropolises of many hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people. While factories are moving to the South, and cities are growing, it will be a long time, if ever, before the South is an industrialized urban region.

I hope the South will remain rural, will capitalize the values of country living, will glorify the arts of rural culture. Throughout America we are at the beginning of what bids fair to be a rural renaissance. Country life is receiving attention and interest unequalled since colonial days. Industry itself is beginning

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940.

to direct much of its effort to the enrichment of the countryside. Electrification, one of the greatest of modern industries, is now finding its largest development in the rural regions. Movies and radio are transforming the art and the communications available to the rural dweller. Automobiles have brought good roads and easy mobility to rustic masses formerly almost plantlike in their restricted movement. Big stores, formerly city phenomena, are extending the widest variety of purchasable goods to every hamlet through mail order and retail chains. With comforts, conveniences, and ready communications, country life is a very different thing from the stark and lonely struggle for existence which our forefathers knew.

The present trend, however, is not so much back to the country as back to a regard for living as contrasted to merely making a living. And this is my second point: that the South with its rural emphasis has an opportunity to build a rich and satisfying way of life. There is some history behind this ideal. I know that the white pillared mansions and the gracious ladies and gentlemen of the Old South have been tooted far beyond the facts. Poverty and drudgery and provincialism were more widespread than wealth and culture at any time in southern history. But, however restricted, there was a tradition of fine living in the Old South. The problem for the future is to enrich the old pattern and to spread it from the few families of the feudal days to all the people of the modern democracy.

This tradition of thinking of living as in itself a fine art seems to me the very root of any true culture. In the southern way of life I should like to see leisure and enjoyment have high place; I hope that the fine arts of painting, music, and literature will flower. But I am even more

concerned that all the people express themselves in simple but delightful ways—through skill in crafts, through making crops and flowers grow abundantly and beautifully, through wide reading both for information and for enjoyment, through the satisfactions of living in clean, attractive homes, through cooperation and fellowship with their neighbors, through rearing sturdy sons and graceful, competent daughters, through song and dance and the joy of work well done.

It is customary among people less enlightened than sociologists to assume that Negroes, who make up more than one quarter of the population of the South, will be a drag on progress toward such a culture. But we who are gathered here know there is little evidence to support this ancient myth. It is true that under the handicaps of exploitation, poor schooling, and discrimination, the Negro has never been allowed to make even a fraction of his contribution to American life. Even so, he has brought notable gifts and will bring them in richer measure as opportunities offer. While in the ironic mythology of current thinking he is always referred to as lazy, we all know that the Negro has done the major part of the labor of the South for two hundred years. And now slowly but steadily he is proving that he is able to meet the highest American standards in every field. John C. Calhoun's sarcastic cry, "Show me a Negro who can parse a Greek verb or solve a problem of Euclid," has been answered so many scores of times that the only wonder today is that a great statesman should have thought Greek grammar or crossword puzzle mathematics an everlasting test of human competence. Negroes have proved their intellectual ability by winning high honors wherever they are allowed free competition with other students. The Fund of which I

am an officer awards about sixty fellowships every year to Negroes and white Southerners. While there is still only a small number of Negro scholars of top quality, every year a few Negroes in given subjects excel all the candidates, regardless of race. In certain fields it is recognized that Negroes have brought distinctive gifts: folk art and music and dance; and now increasingly in the more formalized fine arts: literature, music, painting, and sculpture. Far from a drag, the Negro's labor, zest of life, and creative ability are among the nation's assets and will be increasingly conspicuous as the renaissance develops in the South.

In the building of the Good South my particular concern is education. How can the school help to create a satisfying way of life within this rural culture?

The function of education has always been to prepare young people for successful and happy living in the communities of which they are a part. This was clearly recognized by ancient cultures. Boys were rigorously trained in warfare, hunting, hardihood, and manual arts. Girls learned cooking, weaving, and other women's skills, including the duties of wife and homemaker. Both boys and girls were steeped in the traditions and morals and ideals of their group. The adolescent societies and the spectacular and often prolonged initiation ceremonies were for the direct purpose of preparing young people for their responsibilities as members of the tribe.

The formal schooling of western Europe and modern America grew from the same need as the home training and adolescent societies of ancient tribes. As the mechanics of life became more complex—especially with the growth of reading and writing and science and mechanics—

the duties of the school became more onerous and time-consuming. During the past century or two, with the upsurge of science and the industrial revolution, the obligations of the school became almost overwhelming. It was necessary to divide up the tasks and classify the studies. Specialists were called in to handle the skills of reading and figuring, others to teach the crafts, others to pass on the traditions and morals, and still others to foster such specialities as the languages of other groups, the fine arts, and especially the new and complicated tools of science and mechanics. About each department of learning grew up a special profession of teachers, special textbooks, special traditions and feelings of prestige.

Finally, in the modern world, classes or special divisions of subject matter became so sharply differentiated and so highly organized that the subjects themselves began to overshadow the purposes for which they had been created. Education, instead of preparation for life, came to be thought of as simply the covering of a series of specified topics. Heated arguments arose in defense of given classes, not as to whether they would help the child to live happily and successfully in his society, but as to their tradition-hallowed place in something called Education—with a very large E. "No one can be called educated who has not studied Latin"; "Hand skills and morals have no place in proper Education"; "Science is the basis of true Education"; "Metaphysics is the all-important subject"; etc., etc.

Recently the futility of all this hulla-baloo about scholasticism has dawned upon many of us. In spite of continued and frantic clatter by vocationalists, on the one hand, and mystics on the other, most of us today are not impressed by the sacredness of any given subject in itself.

Instead, with the same directness as the primitives, we are determined to build our schools upon the needs of the children and of the society of which they are a part.

This does not mean that we are going back to the learning routines of the early Indians or the Pacific Islanders. Our society is very different from theirs, and the schooling of our children must therefore be very different. Among other things, our life is much more complex. We have built upon the learning of the ancients great superstructures of written literature and of science and mechanics, and we have built a society in which each citizen is supposed to take part in the control of policy as well as in labor. Our schools have a tremendous task in preparing children for this complex modern world. But in its essence, the function of the school today is just the same as it has always been: to prepare young people for happy and successful living in their world.

How, then, can we plan the rural school so that it will give the child what he needs for life in the farm community and also for citizenship in the modern complex world? The problem is to give him the basic tools of knowledge and to get him to put these tools to use for his own growth and for the improvement of the community in which he lives. Let us consider this question in its humble details—for it is possible and terribly important for the school to be a power in the creation of rural culture.

First, whatever else is done, the school must provide skill in the use of the three R's. No child is prepared to take his place in the modern world without some competence in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Language and number are tools so basic to our civilization that they become the first tasks of any school. We should remember, however, that

language and number are, after all, simply tools to be used in various ways. They are not ends in themselves. The chief fault in the teaching of them is that the lessons in reading and writing and arithmetic become so formalized that the pupil scarcely understands why he is learning them.

The reason these, or any other subjects, are not mastered is that instead of generalized study and practice of a few broad topics, the school attempts to cram a great multitude of lessons into the brief days. Subjects are artificially divided into fragments which are rehearsed in tiny sections, grade by grade. In many rural schools, one or two teachers rush through a whole day made up of lessons of less than fifteen minutes each. No wonder that teachers, driven by fantastic schedules of rote lessons, fail to offer real education in any subject, or that children, hurried from class to class, come to regard school as a place for reciting rather than for learning.

If a child really learns to read, and puts this knowledge into practice, he can care for the rest of his education by his own efforts. The difference between educated and uneducated people is largely the difference in the range and understanding of their reading. Abraham Lincoln was one of the best educated of men in spite of meager schooling—because he read so avidly. Almost the whole of the subject matter of the school may be regarded as practice in reading. And reading, by the same token, should be thought of not as a "lesson," something to be had from a special class or a special set of textbooks, but as the means of mastery of all the subjects and projects which make up school life—and all life.

In addition to the three R's, the rural pupil should gain acquaintance with two other fields: handicrafts and the processes

of nature. These are not "vocational subjects." They are essential tools quite as general in their use as language and number.

Ability to use one's hands is a fitting supplement to ability to use one's wits. Manual arts run the whole gamut from homely hand labor to high expression in art and music. Certainly, the beginnings of hand skill should be a part of any child's preparation for life.

What is meant by the understanding of nature is harder to define and is harder to work into the educational program. It is not merely instruction in gardening or animal raising or the protection of our own health, although it should be applied in all of these. It is learning by study and practice how natural forces work, acquaintance with the simple biological processes which are a vital part of all our lives and which are particularly important and conspicuous in the rural scene.

The school today has one other significant task. It must have some influence upon the community in which its pupils live. The general welfare today is largely a question of education. Especially in rural regions, the school is often the only organized social force which can exert general influence. It is clear that the children and the community should be healthy instead of undernourished or ridden with disease, that the farms be productive, that the houses and barns be well built and in good repair, that the homes be centers of good living, that children who have learned to read have access to books and papers so that they

can go on reading with pleasure and profit. In such items the connections between in-school teaching and community practice are clear and direct.

Unless the school can bridge the gap between the fresh knowledge of the pupils and the old practices of the parents, the effect of education is largely lost. Habits and attitudes in the community tend to freeze the young people into the old molds. Health and farming and living standards will improve only as parents have enough understanding of newer ways at least to allow their children to go forward.

Of course the school cannot be expected single-handed to transform the standards and quality of life in its community. But it can take the lead in these vital matters, it can rally the other public agencies: health, library service, farming, and homemaking. It can influence the parents and so provide a receptive environment for the new knowledge and the fresh ideas of the pupils. And, finally, it can cultivate love and respect for rural living. It can do this by direct precept and by treating the rural arts as regular and important parts of the educative process.

The school is the strongest social force we have in America today and it operates in every community of the nation. Education, too often overlooked or scorned by social scientists, is the most powerful tool for social reform. Rightly directed and ably manned, the humble rural school may do more than all other forces put together to create the Good South.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHEAST: WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

E. S. DRAPER

*Federal Housing Administration**

THE magnitude and complexity of the rural problems and the intense interest in industrial activity in the Southeast have led many of us to overlook a related development—the increasing urbanization of the region.¹ Not only has urban growth proceeded faster there than in the United States as a whole every decade since 1880, but in the face of an apparent long-term slowing up of national urban growth, the Southeast increased its rate of urbanization from 1920–30 over the previous decade.

MORE FACTORIES AND LARGER TOWNS?

The depression only temporarily reversed the cityward trend and, with few exceptions, the Southern farms continued to export population to towns and cities.² a trend, according to Dr. T. J. Woofter, which “will very likely continue.”³ Moreover, an increasing industrial development of the Southern region will strongly accentuate this trend. New industries are coming to the South in impressive numbers. Two-thirds of recent investments in pulp paper, rayon,

petroleum refining, heavy chemical and processing industries were made in this region. \$59,000,000 more was invested here in new plants and modernization in 1936 and 1937 than in all the rest of the country combined, \$186,000,000, as against \$39,000,000 for the Middle West, its nearest competitor.⁴

According to data compiled by the Bureau of the Census, the average number of wage earners in manufacturing in the Southeast was four percent greater in 1937 than in 1929—in the remainder of the Nation it was four percent less. The value of products in 1937 was in the Southeast equal to the 1929 value, yet in the rest of the country there was a fifteen percent decline. Most of the increases in the Southeast from 1929 to 1937—relative to the country as a whole—appear to have taken place in the following order: South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. There was no pronounced change in Kentucky and Mississippi; while manufacturing in Arkansas, Florida, and Louisiana experienced a decline.⁵

Community inducements to industries, the growing importance of commercial trucking over good highways, prospective improvements in water transportation, in part completed, modification of the interterritorial freight-rate differential, the rich natural resources, the abundance

*When this paper was prepared, the author was Director of the Department of Regional Planning Studies of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

¹ The “Southeast” is identical with the Southeast as delimited in Howard W. Odum’s study of Southern Regions, and includes the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

² See especially Conrad Taeuber, “The Movement to Southern Farms, 1930–35,” *Rural Sociology*, III, No. 1 (March 1938), pp. 69–76.

³ T. J. Woofter, “The Future Working Population,” *Rural Sociology*, IV, No. 3 (September 1939), pp. 275–282.

⁴ “Diversification Goes South,” *Business Week*, February 12, 1938; p. 20.

⁵ Computed from the following sources: 15th Census of U. S., Manufactures, 1929, Vol. III, Report by States; Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1937, Part I, Table 3.

of labor that is willing and capable of acquiring rapidly the moderate skills required in most industrial processes—all these tend to induce greater industrialization and the latter, in turn, an increase in the proportion of urban and rural nonfarm population to the total.

Perhaps the most practical reason underlying a probable industrial increase is the comparative returns to agricultural and industrial workers. In 1929 the net farm income in the Tennessee Valley, for instance, was \$659 per farm as compared with \$1,336 for the Nation, and the average annual wage in manufacturing was \$885 in the Valley—\$1,314 in the Nation. Thus, although for the Nation as a whole the annual return per factory wage earner and per farmer (excluding tenants) was roughly the same, the Valley farmer's return was considerably less than the Valley factory wage earner's return. Furthermore, these figures on the comparative return from agriculture and manufacturing in the Valley—and the Tennessee Valley is a fair cross section of the South—are an understatement of the actual case. The farm figure takes into account ownership and management income and value of products raised and consumed by the farm family which the wage figure does not. Also, if it were possible to include the returns of tenants in the farm income average, the figure would be much lower. Finally, in view of the fact that several members of one family may be engaged in manufacturing, the wage figure which is computed by the individual does not reflect family income to the extent that the farm figure does.

It is likely then, that in the South we are going to continue to have larger towns and cities—not necessarily more of them, but an increase in the population and, probably, the area of existing urban communities. There are, of course, those who will deplore this trend from a con-

viction that you can't make any town a decent place to live in. As a town planner by profession, I don't agree with such opinions, although readily admitting that the complexities of modern urban life have brought both social and economic problems that must be solved before city life approaches the ideal. In spite of ideological opposition, urban growth seems very likely to continue, and whether our towns and cities maintain their present size or grow larger, there are few who would deny the need of and the possibilities for civic improvement.

Fortunately for us, this urban trend comes much later in the South than in other parts of the country—we can and should benefit by the experiences of other communities in other regions. Santayana once remarked that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Remembrance and realization of urban mistakes of several generations are so keen and compelling and so related to difficult civic problems of today that I doubt if we shall fall into pitfalls of repetition. However, there is a compelling need for planners and administrators, architects, engineers, all of our social scientists, and, above all, for the local communities which are now in the South going through a period of rapid urban growth to avoid mistakes which have resulted elsewhere. The tragedies of urban erosion—slums, obsolete buildings, unintelligently planned suburban subdivisions, inadequate recreational facilities, public health hazards—exercise a withering effect on human spirits akin to the slow wearing away of the topsoil of the land. They can and must be avoided.

A REEXAMINATION OF LOCAL PLANNING

Twenty-five years ago when I first began work in the South in the field of community planning, the word "planning,"

in general, meant considerably less than it does now—a little zoning, a community center here and there, laying out of small parks and cemeteries, widening a few streets, landscaping the city hall grounds, occasionally the planning of sizable suburban projects, and once in a while a city such as Kingsport, Tennessee, laid out for extensive growth. In recent years we have become more conscious of the bewildering complexity of human life and institutions. During the past ten years our technical knowledge of social and economic interrelationships has grown tremendously through the persistent assault of literally hundreds of workers in universities, local, State, and Federal government agencies, private and public research institutions—not the least of which is the splendid Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

We know now that urban life cannot be considered apart from rural life, from industrial developments, from juvenile delinquency, from municipal justice, housing, working, and living conditions. As Charles Merriman recently wrote:

The old-time city planning was largely the planning of physical arrangements. The new planning will include, along with physical accommodations, a wide range of social and cultural adjustments. The city of course is limited by its local powers, but no one enjoins it from taking the initiative in research in the larger field of problems affecting vitally the city, as in the case of living and working standards. Rural planning has far outstripped urban planning in the past few years, and the rural planners have come up to the fringe of the urban communities with reasonable expectancy that they will be met halfway by the urbanites.⁶

This is a convincing challenge and it deserves an equally convincing reply. I can do no better than to let one of the most thoughtful of city planners, Law-

rence Orton, of the New York City Planning Commission, answer in his own words:

Isn't there a need for an open-minded re-examination (of local planning), coupled with an experimental approach to the whole problem? Isn't the whole framework of (basic enabling) legislation due for reconsideration and revision?⁷

And he then goes on to examine critically the problems and processes of local planning—the adaptation of our local planning efforts to the size and conditions of each local community; the importance of flexibility in plans, of capable personnel, of community acceptance of the responsibility for planning.

And this is of first importance in any discussion of planning—planning *democratically*. It is not enough that plans be technically sound. In these precarious times we are forcibly reminded that the ultimate decision and execution of any plan, whether it be confined to a minor parking ordinance or include consideration of a wide range of civic problems, must rest with the community itself. This does not mean that a community must ignore the genuine contributions that existing groups and individuals—technical experts—stand ready to offer. There is nothing in the theory and practice of democracy that inhibits consideration of skilled guidance at any stage of the proceedings by which democratic decisions are reached.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Only a few years ago, Rupert B. Vance pointed out that for the South to get the best that urbanization has to offer it must realize that the time for city planning is while the city is in the process of

⁶ Charles E. Merriam, "Urbanism," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV, No. 3 (March 1940), pp. 725-726.

⁷ Lawrence M. Orton, "What Is the Place of the Planning Function in local Government?" *The Planner's Journal*, VI, No. 1 (January-March 1940), pp. 1-7.

growing.⁸ There is, encouragingly, an increasing awareness in many local communities in the South of their need and responsibility for local planning. Two important questions immediately arise: first, what technical guidance is available to these communities, and second, what specifically can be accomplished through the union of technical knowledge and popular decision?

The Availability of Technical Guidance.

The number of public and private agencies with technically trained personnel that is available to local governments is impressive. A mere listing of some of the more familiar of these should provide a partial answer to the question so often raised by local groups, "To whom shall we turn?" State leagues of municipalities, State planning boards, the American Planning and Civic Association, the American Society of Planning Officials and other groups of the Public Administration Clearing House, the specialists in our local universities and local governmental research institutions,⁹ private groups such as Holland's Southern Institute for Town Service, a number of well-financed foundations, and, finally, several bureaus and departments of the Federal government.

An advisory committee on City Planning and Zoning of the Department of Commerce, for example, published more than a decade ago (March 1927) a Stand-

ard City Planning Enabling Act, and for several years thereafter the Department issued periodic surveys of city planning and related laws. The Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, called by President Hoover, published in 1932, a series of Committee Reports on such subjects as City Planning and Zoning, Subdivision Layout, and Landscape Planning.¹⁰ The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in addition to its periodic reporting economic statistics of great practical value to the local planning movement, has recently published a handbook covering suggestions for use in making a city survey.¹¹ The Works Progress Administration, for example, from 1935 through June 1939, spent approximately \$16,500,000 on projects sponsored by local planning agencies.¹² A most useful form of this assistance has been in making possible basic data surveys on the planning problems of the community—housing surveys, real property inventories, and many other investigations providing a sound basis for planning. The U. S. Housing Authority has provided communities making application for housing projects with the assistance of technical experts to outline and consult upon basic community surveys. And there are still others. The assistance of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the field of local community planning has been largely an outgrowth of its responsi-

⁸ Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935, pp. 507-508.

⁹ Such as: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama; Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Arkansas; Department of Public Affairs, Emory University; Bureau of Government Research, University of Kentucky; North Carolina Institute of Government, and Local Government Commission; Bureau of Public Administration University of Virginia.

¹⁰ John M. Gries and James Ford, ed., *Planning for Residential Districts*, Washington, D. C.: The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, 1932, pp. xvii, 227.

¹¹ Ada L. Bush, *Suggestions for Use in Making a City Survey*, (Industrial and Commercial), U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series, No. 105.

¹² Local Planning Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, *Why Not Plan?* (mimeographed) October 16, 1939, pp. 52-53.

bility to local communities directly affected by the operating program. Through cooperative arrangements with State Planning Boards technical assistance is given to local communities to meet problems involving the readjustment of local communities to a changed resource base.

The Achievement of Results. As examples of what local communities can accomplish when aided by such technical guidance as these agencies provide, I should like briefly to describe the experiences of several communities in the Tennessee Valley.

At the town of Guntersville, Alabama, it was found that backwaters of the Guntersville reservoir would leave the city at the end of a long, narrow peninsula jutting out into the lake, surrounded on three sides by a broad expanse of water. Extensive readjustments were necessitated in water supply, sewage disposal, and certain other public facilities, but excellent opportunities were afforded for the improvement of the physical appearance of the town, and the development of entirely new facilities for water transportation and recreation. In order to make the most of the advantages of the new situation, the Authority contributed funds to the Alabama State Planning Commission for the services of planning consultants and a resident planning engineer in Guntersville. Both the Authority and the State Planning Commission have contributed technical advice, but the latter agency assumed primary responsibility for the project. With this stimulation and technical guidance, the local city officials have enacted a city planning commission ordinance and created an actively functioning city planning commission. A comprehensive city zoning ordinance has also been passed, which will guide urban growth in an

orderly manner, preserving city amenities and property values.

Platting, or subdivision regulations have been drafted and discussed by the Planning Commission and it is expected that they will be adopted in final form within a few weeks. The local planning officials not only guide and control the use of private lands within and around the city of Guntersville, but they also advise with the Authority and are helping to develop the most desirable use of the Authority's property in the vicinity.

The town of Lenoir City, Tennessee, situated at the upper end of the Watts Bar Reservoir and less than a mile from the site of Fort Loudoun Dam, now under construction, is faced with many problems of readjustment, especially with regard to expansion of housing facilities to accommodate some of the workers engaged on this large-scale construction project, and also with regard to new recreational and other opportunities afforded by the addition of new resources. A City Planning Committee composed of representatives of various civic organizations has been appointed by the Mayor, plus two members designated by him to work with representatives of the State Planning Commission and the TVA in the solution of community problems. A meeting is to be held between these representatives to discuss both the immediate and long-time problems facing the community, and to decide what actually can be done to prevent any possible detrimental effects and to take full advantage of new opportunities.

Through cooperative arrangements with the Tennessee State Planning Commission in a regional demonstration of the possible benefits resulting from intelligent local planning, the town of Gatlinburg, Tennessee—located at the edge of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and

dependent on the tourist trade as an economic base—was assisted in planning a reoriented, controlled development. As an outgrowth of the Gatlinburg studies, the counties adjacent to the Tennessee boundary of the National Park formed their own local organization, the Smoky Mountains Regional Planning Commission, to assist in a guided development of that area.

As a result of these and similar cooperative demonstrations now under way at Dayton and Soddy, Tennessee, stimulation of local planning through State, regional, and local cooperation may develop new techniques for such activity.

Local Governmental Research. The solution of problems of local government is not only an important objective in itself, but frequently an essential preliminary to successful planning. I refer not only to public finance, public health, housing, and education, but to intergovernmental relationships between municipalities, county, State, and Federal governments; to problems of overlapping jurisdictions, of legislative needs and procedures, of functional consolidation. Some of these governmental problems and relationships have borne directly on the activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and appropriate studies have been carried on in collaboration with the institutions of the region.

A general study was made of county organization and administration in the seven Tennessee Valley States, and extensive studies of municipal government and administration have been carried on in Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. The results of the Tennessee and Alabama studies were published in cooperative reports of the Authority and the respective State universities. The Mississippi study

is a cooperative report of the Authority and the Mississippi State Planning Commission and will soon be released. A cooperative agreement with the University of Georgia for a study of municipal government in that State has been reached and work is well under way.

In accordance with the provisions of the statute creating the Authority, suggestions have been made to the legislatures of several Tennessee Valley States for the proper use, conservation, and development of natural resources. Several of these are important to local community planning, especially in the field of recreation development and the distribution of electric power by locally owned and managed cooperatives.

In the foreword of the motion picture "The City," the voice of the narrator says, "Year by year our cities grow more complex and less fit for living. The age of rebuilding is here. We must remould our old cities and build new communities better suited to our needs."

We are rebuilding our cities. Dramatic changes have come about in through-highway transportation and use of land for recreation in many large cities, including our largest, New York City. Cases of good housing, new and rebuilt, are gradually springing up in cities, large and small. Public administration seems to be improving. Problems of public finance, in the occasional city, are being solved. This work needs to be accelerated, to be broadened, and successes achieved in more cities, large and small. Forces of correction need to move faster than forces of obsolescence and decay. The opportunity facing the Southeast is greater than anywhere else in the country. Let's take advantage of it.

THE CONCEPT AND LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS*

Translated from the German of FERDINAND TÖNNIES by KARL J. ARNDT AND
C. L. FOLSE

Louisiana State University

THE concept of human progress is like the idea of an increasing distance between man and the conditions of deficient culture, conditions imagined to be deficient, conditions in which the animal nature of man alone was active. This increasing distance is regularly presented as movement toward improvement and perfection, in any case, however, as an increasing humanization, even when it might appear as a less fortunate fate of mankind.

2. This thought is by no means natural and original to humanity. On the contrary, such appears to be the case with the opposite thought: *viz.*, the thought that man steps out of an original and almost divine condition as out of a joyous childhood and gets always deeper into confusion and distress, that his way is a path of suffering, his development a decline. This view has found its classic form in the legend handed down to us by Hesiod telling of the golden age and of the gradual deterioration of the metals out of which the ages were formed. In Christian culture there corresponds to this, the legend of paradise and the doctrine of the four world kingdoms based on a supposed prophecy, with the last of which "the World" would come to an end.

3. This view retained its force until deep into the 17th century and beyond. Even such an ingenious philosopher as Giovanni Battista Vico reproduces the germ of this thought, when he attempts to unite with

his *Scienza Nuova* the theory of the Egyptians that an age of gods was followed by an age of heroes and this by the age of man.

4. Meanwhile another basic thought had arisen. Already in antiquity it had been developed most keenly, without doubt, in the school of Epicurus. Only fragments of it have remained. As the revival of Grecian learning in general shook the system of the Christian imagination, so especially Epicureanism, which continued the doctrine of the Sophist free thinkers, has had a loosening effect. In this sense Thucydides already taught that ages ago the Hellenic in art and custom was similar to that which at his time was observed among the Barbarians.

5. Bodinus dared to turn the sequence of ages around while at about the same time Bako made a remark to this effect: That age which they called golden, might, when it is compared with ours, appear as the iron age. After him Hobbes, whose first literary work was the English translation of Thucydides, sharply contrasted the original state of humanity as a state of savagery, of misery, of general war with the conditions of culture, as he saw them at his time. Now he ascribed to science, especially to geometry and physics, then, however, to law and to security granted by the power of the state, the advantages which life through agriculture, industry, navigation and other means of communication, through the augmentation of knowledge, especially geographical, through reckoning of time, through literature and art had gained over the poor and rough conditions of past ages.

* *Begriff und Gesetz des menschlichen Fortschritts*. Taken from Ferdinand Tönnies: *Fortschritt und Soziale Entwicklung*. Karlsruhe, 1926. Translation approved by and published through the courtesy of Franziska Tönnies Heberle.

6. More and more this point of view has become the common property of western humanity, although, even on the basis of scientific thinking, relapses into that earlier point of view occur from time to time, as is exemplified in the most noticeable manner in the teachings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who by no means denied the facts of progressive culture (as scarcely ever an observer has been able to overlook them), but interpreted them in this manner: Men thereby have become not only unhappier instead of happier but also worse instead of better.

7. Recent opinions concerning human progress have been nourished essentially by three sources:

(A). The first source is found in the comparison of modern times with the Middle Ages, after the division of general history into Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Modern Era had taken the place of the division into the four kingdoms and ages of the world. This comparison is characteristic of the age of reason, which saw the essence of progress in the increase of scientific knowledge in opposition to superstition and which from this derived all reforms and improvements which in part it saw under way and for which in part it vigorously strove. In the political realm the most worthy object to strive for seemed to be liberty, which was praised as a natural human right and which at the same time found theoretical glorification as the most suitable means for the advancement of prosperity of the people, or of social welfare. As the general essence of progress freedom has found its last great presentation in Hegel's *Philosophy of History*.

(B). That cultured man proceeded from crude conditions and crude man from animal conditions, already in the 18th century was a widespread conception which, however, had not yet been victori-

ous over the theological ideas, so that even in the teachings of Fichte the picture of an ideal aboriginal folk is presented, which then is absorbed by Schelling's Romanticism and doctrine of revelation. The theory of evolution which Lamarck ingeniously proved at the turn of the century was not victorious until in the last third of the century and then through the great success of the Darwinian Theory. It also had a decisive effect on the views of cultural development. It was widely attempted to apply the principle of natural selection to the history of humanity; biologically, on the basis of the struggle of races, tribes, and nations for their existence, and in part directly sociologically by considering human institutions, customs and religions as organisms in which those most capable of living and those more highly developed preserve and propagate themselves best.

(C). Upon this view of the humble origin of humanity rests the third theorem that has been advanced more and more; the theory, namely that the progress of humanity depends essentially on its economic progress, and that this has been conditioned by what man is able to do, by what he is able to accomplish to make possible the living together of the greatest numbers, to facilitate or to improve community living and make it more beautiful; in other words, that it is conditioned by technology. This theory found its forceful expression in the so-called historical materialism, a theory, which, as Friedrich Engels expressed himself, was newly discovered by Lewis Morgan, who distinguishes the three main epochs of savagery, of barbarism and of civilization, according to the means and tools of existence acquired in each case. Within each epoch he sees three steps, by letting the stages of social development, hence also the development of family living fall

together with the epochs of the extension of the sources of support.

8. In order to gain a correct opinion of human development, one must digest all of these elements, and, insofar as it is practicable, blend them together. Much as the biological search into the evolution of man still is in a state of flux, it can be said with certainty, that opposite all mythology the scientific idea of natural development, as Herbert Spencer synthetically presented it, i.e. the development of the simple to the complex, the small to the large, the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, of the dispersed to the concentrated—the development, therefore, seen as development of differentiation and integration—that this idea asserts itself indestructibly and therefore will itself develop all the more vigorously the more the knowledge of the past increases in breadth and depth. This idea is necessarily enriched through the simple realization that all nobler elements of culture rest upon an economic basis, first made possible by the living together of great multitudes and by their goods. This knowledge itself is already basic for the generally accepted division of "prehistoric" humanity into the stone-age, the bronze age, and the iron age according to their lesser or greater ability to make tools and utensils out of materials found and later developed with the aid of fire. Likewise, it is basic for the division of tribes observed even today into such as gain their chief means of support through hunting and fishing, through milk and meat of domesticated herds, and finally, through the cultivation of the soil, a division which has long ago been interpreted as a historical succession of steps or as parallel to the former. In this respect the methodological basis of explaining the past stages of development of cultured man through conditions and

arrangements of relatively primitive peoples as observed today is basically no new principle. The application of this principle, however, is subject to this error, that the various talents of races are not appraised at all, or at least too little. As little as the biologist would place "homo alalus" according to his mental abilities upon the same level as a present existing type of primitive, just so little may the sociologist assume that in an epoch of long ago the ancestors of the modern Mongolian, Semitic, and Aryan cultural races existed upon the same level with the present living Papua Negroes or Hottentots.

9. If around the year 1,500 a thinker would have made a comparison of the status of culture of that time, with the one existing 2,000 years before in the cities of Greece, he would have asserted progress only in one point, which undoubtedly to him would have seemed the most important, namely, in regard to religion. The event of divine revelation and salvation by the sacrificial death of the God-man, a decisive event, as far as he was concerned, had not taken place in antiquity; before this time there existed only a chosen people, according to the divine plan of salvation. The question whether man in general had become better he would probably not have brought up. To those who fulfilled their obligations to the holy church salvation was certain. Certainly this Christian way of thinking had already been greatly weakened. In association with the world of ideas of the Renaissance young Humanism already dared to treat church doctrines with ridicule and irony, and to seek true Christianity, which was accorded a conventional homage, in the Renaissance of classical antiquity, which in arts and sciences seemed to hold a peak never since reached. This view has had its effect

until our day. The view proceeding from it, however, that the Middle Ages signify an interruption and darkening of the light of culture, that, therefore, progress, which from Asia reached its peak in Greece and Rome, gave away to a retrogression with the fall of the Roman Empire and possibly had renewed itself with the Renaissance and during the last centuries had expanded into its complete splendor—this opinion today is probably no longer earnestly asserted.

10. We see that a long line of historical peoples during a short span of time, short in comparison with the total development of man, i.e., from 10 to 20 thousand years, has each developed its peculiar culture, which has maintained itself in Asia and, for a considerable part of humanity, even to our day, and which first through the newest developments of our time, is being changed considerably and essentially. Incidentally, many folk cultures have disappeared. Primarily, these have had a fruitful and stimulating effect on the following cultures. Those folk cultures in which we live today are naturally heirs to all earlier ones and have received from them a wealth of possessions. Proof of this is found most strongly in the preservation of more or less fragmentary remains of ancient languages, arts, religions, laws, sciences, and philosophies, in the cultural patterns (formations) of Romance, i.e. mixed, of Germanic and Slavic nations, among which there can be just as little justification to speak of pure "races." There is not sufficient reason to consider these cultures still blossoming now higher, because they have developed independently and strongly on the basis of the former, older cultures or even to see in them as such a progress of mankind.

11. Of course, the last four centuries afford a new view of progress, which now makes a special consideration neces-

sary: (a) The first fact is the one of an extraordinary numerical increase of that part of humanity, which takes part in the fruits of civilization and, in association with it, its successful expansion to new parts of the world. (b) In a strong reciprocal effect therewith stands the immeasurable progress of technics in production and transportation of goods for the trade of man and for the whole economic life. The overwhelming success of these manifold inventions increasing in number, refinement, and meaning are the object of a rightful pride of present men, who in this very pride with special emphasis call themselves men of culture and already sympathetically if not contemptuously, look back upon all human generations of men which lived before these brilliant accomplishments brought the progress of civilization to its present height. For such a way of thinking, indeed, a way of life worthy of man, be it called culture or civilization, perhaps had its beginning first in the year 1830, so that it would now be near its centennial celebration. (c) An analogous rise is shown, for the greater part in close connection with the progress of technics, in scientific development, especially in the development of natural science, although in it, insofar as it is considered without its technical application, the last few decades do not look equally revolutionary and new. Its results, of course, grow daily. (d) That all of these changed conditions of living and powers of life exercise a powerful influence on the social, political, and spiritual-moral life is sufficiently known; each glance into the life of today, especially that of the great cities, teaches us that. And also in these fields, even today, as already at the beginning of modern times, progress is sensed and often praised as the general tendency.

12. But criticism rises against this interpretation. We do not know the outcome of this our civilization. It is usually looked at with great hope and occasionally with great apprehension. A strictly scientific judgment, that is, a demonstrable opinion can scarcely be gained. However, it is untenable to see an absolute progress of culture in the course of this western culture during the last centuries and especially during the last decades. For the present these achievements are events in the development of each of those peoples concerned, and as such they have their alternatives and mixed character, a fact which forces one to interpret them at the same time as signs of dissolution and disintegration, yes, in part of decay, no matter how conscious one is of the progress they symbolize. This other interpretation is characterized by the following points: (a) Because cultural life in those lands most filled with the modern spirit is collecting more and more in the more populous cities and because their (the cities') manner of living and their customs are spread over entire countries, the roots of folkdom and folk living begin to die out since they are not nourished sufficiently. This, of course, has not shown itself until now in a smaller increase of population since the decline in the birth-rate is balanced by an equal decline in mortality. This movement, however, soon exhausts itself, and already at the middle of this century a positive and progressive decrease of population in the west European countries can be foreseen. This decrease has already set in in that country which often, and not always without reason, boasted of marching at the head of civilization. This movement at the same time will mean that the indigenous population more and more will be replaced and displaced by an exogenous

population: the Romanic-Germanic by a Slavic, the European by an African and Asiatic, etc. (b) At the same time the increasing predominance of mercantile and capitalistic interests had disastrous effects upon all of the original elements of cultural life. It spoils the sense for art and the taste for art, because it degrades everything to the status of big business and, therefore, lowers men and things to external means of attaining profit. The ugliness and the shallowness of metropolitan civilization soon overruns the noble and true style through which otherwise in every country, in a manner peculiar to it, farms and villages stood out in their customs and costumes, the cities in their buildings and in other arts and trades, and even in the form of their daily lives. (c) This development finds its immediate expression in the social and moral conditions of men living together, therefore in the struggles between capital and labor, the class struggles, which destroy or threaten peaceable living together. Here the spectre of the social question which in exact correlation with the brilliant technical development of the last hundred years has grown to immense dimensions appears before an inner eye. The power and the self-confidence with which accumulated and organized capital spreads out over the earth, dissolves all old cultures, consumes itself at the same time in competitive struggle and in the wars resulting therefrom, lessens the probability of an organic solution of the inner conflicts which may be advanced with the help of scientific knowledge and understanding, lessens it all the more, the more perfectly all workers, whether of hands or of brains, become organized and for their part prepare to take over the direction of the economic system, that is the control over the means of production. The enormous difficulties of such a change

are scarcely minimized today through the technical means at our disposal and through their possible improvement. (d) Such a re-formation of the economic basis for the constitutions and forms of modern society could be most readily imagined, if the civilized states of the world would live with each other in continuous peace. This is, however, highly improbable. On the contrary, with the progress of capitalism and peaceful intercourse, also the causes of conflicts and of hostilities, the attempts of single powers to annihilate others, accumulate, be it out of economic competition or because of eventual political enmity or out of envy or revenge, out of founded or unfounded fear. And with civilization itself the means of destruction and annihilation develop. Hand in hand with the technic of production goes the technic of destruction. There is not only a productiveness of work, but there is also a destructiveness of human work, which like the former has grown to monstrous proportions, and, as it seems, will continue to grow.

13. According to all the suppositions and existing experiences of humanity we must expect that an age of many centuries stands before us in which dissolution gains preponderance over evolution and that in this process, the presently still fruitful culture of Europe, which will continue to spread over the remaining parts of the world, is moving toward its destruction and death. As the Assyrian and other cultures of Asia Minor, as the Egyptian, as the brilliant Hellenic, as the bitter and severe Roman culture have disappeared, so by the end of the next 1000 years also the more recent civilization will disappear, a civilization for which all those antiquities furnished the material, to which the Nordic race more than any other gave the form, for which a belief in salvation, rising out of the decay

of Hellenism and the Roman empire provided the warp and the revived remains of antiquity the woof, which, however, only youthful peoples were able to weave into a pattern. But the history of man will not be concluded with that. In the collapse itself some of the innumerable seeds which are contained in the decaying fruits will find new and fertile soils, both within the decline itself and beyond. Much room appears to exist for the supposition, that after the ages of folk-cultures, which have become more and more comprehensive, a universal culture of humanity will follow, in which humanity will use a common language and other common systems of symbols, in which it will let itself be led by a common science, in which it will foster a truly platonic religion of veneration of the true, the good, and the beautiful and in which it will have learned to manage its real values and will no longer see in eternal peace a striving with inadequate means for a distant goal, but will recognize in such peace an immediate and self-evident necessity for its existence.

14. Through progressive understanding the laws of progress are given; in progressive understanding they are contained. But their effects are bound to very special conditions. These effects go all the deeper, their duration becomes all the more probable the less in conscious re-newing, revolutionary manner such understanding differentiates and separates means and ends the less it mechanizes the means and allows them to become masters of the spirit instead of controlling them through the spirit; rather, the more it has become organic, that is, the more it has gone over into the flesh and blood of institutions, traditions, customs and works of art, and as moral-aesthetic sense has entered into ideas which have become alive and fruitful—in brief, the more it bears the stamp

of reality. From all this, understanding and science in the very age of its mightiest development, in a critical age, are farthest removed. This actual progress can only be completed very slowly. Always and according to its law it will demand long periods of dissolution, perhaps periods becoming more and more monstrous. These are at the same time periods of purification and selection. After many thousand years humanity will perhaps ripen toward a condition of complete perfection, that is, a condition wherein, within the limits which nature would permit, it will have discarded its animal nature. This distant period would, perhaps, signify its death and its blessed end—a "Euthanasia."

15. Is this opinion, however, not comfortless, discouraging, pessimistic? The object of scientific knowledge is not to bring consolation and to give advice. It

does not ask whether it is useful or harmful. It wills only itself; it, therefore, is its own object. In itself the question whether a certain opinion or judgment is good or bad is, of course, open to scientific discussion; however, it allows no simple solution. The first subordinate question then is: To whom? Every understanding can harm fools, even by chance, if it only has the effect of confusing their mind more than before. However, understanding will help in the same measure as it is desired; only he who has felt the deep longing for it will accept it willingly and completely. The thirst for understanding can be satisfied only by understanding, by quenching of a thirst, and this always gives to the thirsty man a satisfaction which is akin to the enjoyment of art and, therefore, also to religious edification—no matter how unpleasant that which is seen may be.

THE RURAL CONSCIOUSNESS*

ERNST HARMS

New York City

IT WAS about ten years ago that the German psychologist Richard Müller-Freienfels¹ was the first to try to show, by phenomenological description in the social and mental lives of men, the existence of social-psychological spheres and systems which are in themselves fixed structures that continue to exist relatively independent of the faith and of the conscious life-tendencies of the individuals. These social psychological systems called

by Carl Gustav Jung, the psychiatrist, the collective unconsciousness, or the archetypes, are a kind of superpersonal reality, being composed of a definite group of attitudes and behavior patterns which do not change from individual to individual, but which have as their most fundamental quality a permanent and static character. And the human being only participates in their existence, individualizing them according to his life tendencies and needs.

To such a social-psychological superpersonal system, which has attracted my interest since youth and to which I have given many years of study and investigation through work at the "Völkerpsychol-

* The author was formerly a staff member of the U. S. Department of Agriculture where he was making a study of rural consciousness. This manuscript is preliminary to the larger study.

¹ Richard Müller-Freienfels, *Tagebuch eines Psychologen*. Leipzig, 1931. See the chapter: Psychology of the Metropole.

ogische Institut" in the rural world of the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, I wish to offer here a contribution in this study on rural consciousness.

For many, not only social scientists or urban people, but for rural people also, it will seem strange that there should exist something that could be called a social-psychological whole and closed system connected with the life and the occupation of the farmer. Many will regard as quite unnecessary the discussion of the existence of this so-called rural consciousness, because it seems to them a natural fact requiring no special attention, and because there are other questions in regard to the present rural life which need more serious consideration. If we, however, question some of the representatives of this latter contention, we become aware of the fact that they know very little about the real facts which we want to emphasize in their importance and in the role they play, and therefore neither those who deny the existence nor those who believe they experience rural consciousness know the reality and meaning of it. This in turn confers upon us a right and even a duty to try to enlighten the whole sphere of present rural existence, which, it is apparent, is of fundamental importance for every human existence and community.

If my quest to take seriously the fact of rural consciousness may seem somewhat strange to many, it will likely be regarded as even more unfitting to take as a starting point for my treatise an extraordinary expression of it. However, it soon will become evident that my example reveals, as does the jest of the court jester, deep, impressive, even though unwelcome truths not generally mentioned.

If one who has no concrete relationship with the reality of rural consciousness takes the *Old Farmer's Almanac* which a well known Boston publisher issued in

1938 for its 146th year, and which is circulated every year in a large edition throughout New England and the Middle Western States, he will probably expect to find in it only such modern suggestions for farm life as are regarded as most progressive; but, instead, he will find little of such modern interest other than a short chapter on car drivers' regulations and on postage. As a matter of fact the major portion of the contents could have been contained in any issue of this *Almanac* some fifty years ago. Nearly half of the booklet is very similar in content and appearance to that of the first issue. There can still be found prophetic information on weather conditions, curricula of the year, and the importance of astronomical facts to the farm as they were regarded of fundamental importance to the existence of the human race some 200 years ago,—facts which we with our modern scientific minds either do not believe or consider superstitions, and therefore regard as ridiculous. The extensive distribution and circulation of the *Almanac*, however, shows that it must have definite relationship to the mind, particularly of the farmers of today, who regard it as something more than a humorous or ridiculous publication, because it does contain short articles and serious contributions from present-day leading statesmen in America.

Some, wishing to explain the relationship of farmers to such out-of-date conceptions, will surely maintain that a great deal of the present rural population has lagged behind modern development and that the part of rural America that reads such "stuff" is the worst in this respect. And, furthermore, it will probably be pointed out that a really serious farm journal will contain only communications about technical, chemical, and even social progress in the agricultural world, and not such "nonsense."

Naturally the interest and benefit the rural world of today receives from the technological and natural scientific progress of the past hundred years is quite extensive. The agriculture of the civilized world of today is guided and directed by viewpoints and measures based upon progress in scientific agricultural and scientific general research, and, no doubt, several of the most progressive countries in the world would not be able to feed their population if they were not guided in their agricultural production by the results of technology.

However, if we, accepting the ideas which often are proposed by radicals and fanatics in the progress of our modern technological and scientific development, should think of the aim of the whole agricultural world in terms of its task and duty for our lives, we would come to curious conclusions as to our nourishment and the mode of its production. Many serious-minded fanatics contend that man should be able to live on food made completely by chemical processes, such as small pills of high caloric and nutritive content. If our organic structure could be nourished properly in this way, why should we have cultivation of endless fields of grain, wide plantations of vegetables, orchards, and wide areas of grasslands for the production of dairy and livestock in every part of the world. Such ideas are consequential in view of modern technocracy, and would make unnecessary the endless work connected with the cultivation of living food, and would spare all the work and thought which we use to make our agricultural world scientifically and economically effective, so that we could produce nearly all food for mankind with several thousand workers in a chemical factory plant.

But it is not the industrial agriculturalists and the farmers who are protest-

ing against "such nonsense." It is the medical men of today, who, with the same scientific thinking which has produced such exaggeration, have had to show through so-called vitamin research that the most important part of human nourishment is from special biological materials created only from growing, living plants and animals. In this respect we cannot eliminate such working and living with nature as agriculture needs in favor of a purely technocratic production.

It is the tendency of all the progressive technological influence in agricultural and rural life to ease "the fight with nature" which is, as we must admit and about which we speak quite exhaustively later on, the most difficult task the farmer has and in which he is naturally much behind the whole sphere of industrial professions. Nobody would deny the importance of this unique help which the agricultural world must credit to technical processes, and even the most conservative type of farmer cannot take such important kinds of orientation from the calendar mentioned above. However, the possibilities of influence and help which the rural world can receive from the technological possibilities are limited.

Some time ago an American fruit grower attempted to nourish a small tomato farm by means of chemical solutions, using about one-fifth the size of a farm for the same quantity of production. Even if this experiment was intended to be multiplied, accepting it as it is, we could not assert that it might be possible to grow, not only all vegetables in like manner, but furthermore all needed kinds of grains.

There are always limitations, especially in respect to the possibility of governing technologically the nature of the rural sphere. And if we are able today to produce spring chickens by the aid of incubators, almost independent of the

course of seasons, will it not be possible to "manufacture" all veal, beef, and pork needed in a similar half-artificial way. No technocratic process is or will ever be able to remove some limitations, all of which gives definite evidence that the broader agricultural field of our civilization is one which is not to be eliminated by replacing it by technical production or restraining it by technical means. There always will be numerous growers who, forced by the rural environment and profession, live according to their social attitudes which can only be changed slightly by the philosophies and attitudes developed in our age of machinery.

After this more sociological consideration which should give us some idea of the concrete boundaries of farming life, from the environmental and social conditions, we can proceed with our investigation into the more specialized sphere of the standards of living of rural people. We recognize that nature puts definite limits upon agricultural activity in respect to its assimilation of modern scientific and technological concepts. A farmer can follow only a part of the way of the technocratic conquest of nature about which our modern civilization is so proud. He can use electricity and radio, railroad and airplane, introduce and apply new machinery and chemical inventions into his farming profession, and out of them he can make himself a kind of theoretical philosophy of life, according to the conceptions of modern natural science. But there are always restrictions in the complete adaptation of the modern technocratic viewpoint indicated in his own activity in which he definitely submits himself to nature, viewpoints of much more fundamental importance for his whole existence and for the philosophy he develops from it.

Never in any conceivable technical

progress will it be possible to arrange the climate and the weather so that its changes and its course might be adjusted to the farmers' needs for a good harvest. In Europe people joke much about weather prophecy irrespective of the power of any single farmer to will weather to suit his needs, such as sunshine for one and rain for the other, according to their momentary needs. There is a definite limit beyond which nature dictates and the farmer must accommodate himself. It will never be possible to raise crops needed for a larger group of men without taking into consideration the course of the seasons necessary to ripen the grain.

One cannot breed cattle or any other animals without acknowledging the duration of pregnancy. No incubator will make it possible to breed veal or pork in a shorter time or outside of the conditions set by nature for such production. Here is *the* point at which the farmer is entirely dependent on nature. He may think as progressively as possible, but he cannot change this law or any other law of nature. Good farmers must be able to adapt themselves to all changes and conditions, and study them accordingly. This study, however, which a farmer should make, involves an understanding of the course of nature. It is more than the knowledge that he receives from the natural sciences, which are supposed now to have more data about our environmental world than at any earlier time, about our looking into the macrocosmos as well as into the micro-world which we can study with a microscope. Here is the focus of the problem. And the key is to find out what should be recognized as the rural consciousness.

Let us take as the most impressive example that one which lies closest, not only in the world of modern science, but in that of rural life itself—the weather.

Nothing has more concrete importance for anything a farmer is doing than the weather conditions under which he works. Weather generally plays an even more fundamental role in the lives of urban men than we are aware of in our abstract scientific consciousness. Practical life, however, insofar as it has still some rudiments of genuine relations, recognizes this importance. We regard it as social and polite behavior when meeting to speak at first about the weather. But it seems that this most conventional and natural fact of social relations is completely overlooked and never satisfactorily recognized by either the social psychologist or the scientist, yet there is a definite approach by which all kinds of scientific service and investigation are applied to the natural reality of the weather. By the aid of modern methods of information, maps and weather forecasts published daily, every farmer or nonfarmer is able to know how St. Peter will show his atmospherical grace in the next twenty-four hours. We know, however, that practically 30 per cent of all scientific weather prophecy is wrong and that it is almost impossible to give definite or accurate measurements of weather forecasts on places only a few miles distant from one another.

How tragically wrong such prophecies are makes an example from America in September 1938 impressive. It was announced that a hurricane would come from the Gulf of Mexico and travel along the Southern States of the American continent. People of these States prepared themselves for the storm but the people in the New England States, unprepared or unwarned of the storm, were the victims of this foreseen but wrongly forecast hurricane and suffered tremendously and tragically, physically and economically. Since scientific weather forecasts are never absolutely

accurate, they will continue to remain hazardous.

I recall in my homeland the saying that "a farmer trusts only with one eye the report of the weatherman; with the other he looks at the sky." This confidence in experience and the ability of having real and trustful awareness of what lies outside the usual consciousness of our so-called scientific age leads directly to what may be herein designated as the rural consciousness. A careful and cautious meteorologist of today will surely call it the worst kind of superstition if he hears of the ability of any kind of direct awareness of weather changes. However, there are some kinds of direct awareness of change and prophecy; there are real conceptions of natural processes in nature which are familiar to those who live daily with them and who are thus able through adaptation to recognize them.

It is well known in the practice of the natural sciences that special facts and processes are only to be recognized after long and tried experiments and experiences. Chemists can distinguish special reactions only after they have seen them many times and medical men recognize special diseases and their symptoms only after repeatedly treating patients affected with such diseases or germs. The eye, the hand, and the ear must be trained to see such facts or symptoms.

So it is with the farmer's eye for the weather which the meteorologist is not, to the same degree, trained to see because the latter looks mostly upon his instruments and not at the sky. Impressed with this since childhood, I have studied and collected materials about such phenomena, interesting facts from literature and from careful observation while living with rural people. Goethe, for instance, who was an extremely good investigator of nature, proclaimed that a view of the

sky enabled him to foresee the weather for the next twelve hours. This still limited ability, to give sound foresight about the weather for several days to a month or even a season, has been found among many farmers. All of which brings us close to the contents of the previously mentioned *Old Farmers Almanac* or calendar and helps us to understand why such a publication can be of such widespread interest even in this modern rural world.

Some experiences about "rain and sunshine" naturally do not yet deserve to be called a special or important part of rural consciousness. I have only started my study with these facts because it is most striking in character. Likewise every farmer knows that many animals have a "scent," not only for the coming of a storm, but for changes of seasons. And man, if he lives similarly, in permanent natural relationship to such simple environmental facts, will better perceive nature's ways, but will still lack so-called rural consciousness, or awareness. This, however, means something much deeper and might be called a "Weltanschauung," a philosophy of life, even a religion. And the real beginning here is given in the intensive life a farmer has to live in his fight for existence with the plant and the animal world. A progressive layman of today regards it necessary to have some knowledge of sociology, geology, astronomy, biology, botany, and the like. This lay knowledge, however, is far from the true consciousness of the natural world as I want it understood as the rural consciousness. A geologist and his scientific colleagues look down contemptuously on the farmer who knows little about the different layers of the earth or of plant physiology.

But there exists, on the other hand, a rural knowledge which not too seldom

causes the farmer to smile about the "learned gentleman" who has none of the wisdom which actually living through years of experience with nature alone develops as a rural consciousness. I have myself experienced many such facts during the decades I have occupied myself with rural cultural problems. I shall never forget the day my father showed me the first hydrometer to be put in the stacked hay to measure the humidity. Laughingly he remarked, "A real farmer measures more surely with his hand whether there is danger of the stack's burning." I have seen other farmers wringing hay to see whether it was dry enough to be brought in; others rubbing it on their faces for the same purpose. I have experienced similar examples of farmers' knowledge as to the quality, humidity, and fertility of the soil. Many experience through their rural consciousness, and not by the aid of a divining-rod, whether water is in the ground and a spring can be expected. Farmers could tell merely by looking upon soil whether or not it needed fertilizer. Others knew the exact quality of the grain and especially its quality as seed.

The same astonishing experiences can be made of a farmer's "eye" for the cultivation of his field and for the quality and even sickness of his livestock. Some thirty years ago in Europe, the livestock in some districts became badly infected with an epidemic which attacked only certain animals, leaving others untouched. No scientist was able to find the reasons until a farmer's "eye" one day announced that one could recognize the animal easily susceptible by the quality of its horny parts. It was tested and recognized as true. We have often heard that to judge a good horse, cow, hen, or sheep needed a very fine "sight" which could only be acquired during long periods of experience.

I have given here merely simple examples of the meaning of this rural consciousness.

But we need to add more and to become more penetrating. In the beginning we mentioned the deep relationship of the rural man to weather, a relationship more intensive and direct than even that of a meteorologist. Each rural individual has a similar relationship to the soil, the plant world, and the animal world. This is true not only with one sphere of our natural environment, but with all spheres at the same time. He has to have a *total consciousness* of our natural environment. A natural scientist has concrete relationship to only one of the different spheres or fields. He may be a geologist, a biologist, a botanist, or a zoologist. He may be a good layman in other fields, but will be an acknowledged scientist if he specializes in one field. *Herein lies the first difference between scientific and rural consciousness.*

The rural consciousness grows out of detailed experience of the natural environmental world; the scientific consciousness from a specific field of facts. The rural consciousness is based mostly upon somewhat of an intuitive conception of reality; the scientific consciousness, on the other hand, mainly upon an inductive method. However, this doesn't mean—and here we come to one of the most important points of my discussion—that the rural consciousness is less empirical than the scientific one. On the contrary we might say that, in some respects, it is even more empirical. Science always speculates a lot in theoretical spheres and occupies itself with book studies and readings. The rural mind on the contrary bases its findings almost entirely on factual experience along with observation of the practical reality.

Because we have to study rural consciousness from the viewpoint of scientific

consciousness, we have to use the terminology and the mode of expression used in most prevailing science, in order to understand such mental and psychological facts and processes as lie on the borderline or outside the realm of scientific thinking. This rural consciousness has many experiences, strange and quite difficult to recognize in our scientific manner of investigation. There are things experienced which science regards from its manner of investigation as moving in the direction of superstition and similar kinds of "unscientific belief." We cannot fail to acknowledge, not only the fact that the farmer definitely lives with such experiences and with resulting benefit to his practical life, but that a great many of these experiences prove to be true when tested scientifically. We question the manner in which such experiences are obtained and the structure and function of the consciousness which makes this kind of test.

Let us approach, first, the second question, already referred to, by describing such experiences. We spoke of the farmer living in a natural environment in a relationship which is more permanent and more complete. Both these factors develop a greater sensitivity, a finer vision for all natural facts and processes. He has a better and more highly developed perception and "Einfühlung" toward his environmental world. This can be explained and understood physically as a finer "ear" and "eye," but it also means a widening of that power of perception itself. Some time ago in a psychiatric journal, *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift*, 1933, I mentioned my experience with a young Finnish fisherboy who could recognize and see the fishes in what to me was opaque water. He explained his ability with the expression that one must "feel the fish." Many of us will

have had experience with the extraordinary sense of trappers and still more that of primitive people for the location of the hunted prey.

These and the facts which transfer us to the world of aboriginal mythology and religion, called by Levy-Bruhl "participation mystique," are realities which we can understand only if we admit of a higher and an extraordinary sensitivity, which reaches its maximum development through intensive and total living in the natural environment, that distinguishes rural life. But this higher sensitivity and extraordinary perceptivity are only the outer edge of such consciousness. The second question then is: "How does such a consciousness function?" If to our scientific consciousness belongs the kind of inductive logic and thinking out of which we develop our scientific theories and systems, then the rural mind must have its specific inner manner of conception. We spoke of the total and primary empirical conception of the rural consciousness. In this respect it approaches more nearly scientific consciousness than, for instance, the religious consciousness which arises primarily out of a belief in religious dogma. But it has, nevertheless, more resemblance to the religious mind than has a "pure scientist."

This difference is found in what we know as the difference between scientific knowledge and wisdom. Science has as its main task and its propensitive purpose to get definite inside knowledge about certain groups of facts. Next comes the problem of applying these to life and to concrete practical civilization. Wisdom has this second factor as its first. It is sought under the direct propensity of any application in life or fight for existence. Even the knowledge about weather or crop-destroying conditions is obtained from the mental attitude of a farmer seek-

ing possible insight for his individual use. Wisdom is always an applied or directly applicable knowledge. Science is a so-called objective system of truth to which the individual scientist can contribute only this or that. *The wisdom of rural consciousness is only for the individual mind.* It is "lived knowledge," not only a system of knowing, but an expression of a direct orientation in the environmental world. It is ever one of the most specific traits of such a consciousness that it does not have systematic thinking and seldom produces theoretical constructions for itself, as does the scientific mind which develops knowledge out of the needs of this orientation. One of the basic characteristics of rural consciousness is its individualism.

Someone, however, could contradict us and say, "There exists a good deal of rural wisdom and especially more fundamental life-rules which we still use ourselves, mostly in a traditional form, and which we know to be descended from rural folklore. There seems, therefore, to be strong systematic thinking in rural consciousness." We cannot deny that there is even a deep-rooted fundamental system in this rural consciousness, but it is, however, quite fundamentally different from that which science calls systematic thinking. This difference is the third point which I wish to discuss here as the most basic structural quality of the rural mind.

Everyone who has seriously occupied himself and studied the contents and structure of great religions and philosophies knows that they all possess a fundamental system, built according to basic knowledge prevailing at the time of their development, from simple rules for eating and for sexual life to a consideration of behavior through the year by the individual and even to the cosmic influence upon this. This "Weltanschauung's wis-

dom" is not the same as that of our professors, not a scientific knowledge in a systematic sense, and is only somewhat similar in that it contains everything under heaven. It is rather the wisdom of rural life developed and created by direct and momentary application. Rural wisdom is in this respect identical with religious wisdom; it has the same systematic development from fundamental rules of existence. But there is also a fundamental difference. Religious knowledge is developed chiefly by theoretical and theological scientists of an earlier time for the purpose of its becoming a traditional system for the teaching of this or that religion. Rural wisdom is not developed in the same conscious manner. It grows from fundamental, persistent, individual needs, but needs that are mostly general and which create wisdom about the fundamental system of life. In strong rural cultures this has arisen through communication from one to another and has in this way developed its remarkable traditions.

But these traditions are not conditioned only by daily use. There is a deeper psychological factor at work in some respects as strong as all religious and cultic realities. Human life, and even the life of the higher animals, is determined and guided by a certain amount of intellect, without which even the most primitive needs of existence could not be furnished. Modern biologists and anthropologists have discussed extensively the problem of how this knowledge can be acquired in relatively so short a time by babies and young animals.

The most satisfactory explanation was derived by Richard Semon and is called mnemonistic theory, further developed by Bleuler and C. G. Jung. Semon's theory maintains that through the genesis of the education and adaptation of many thou-

sands of generations, first of anthropoids and then of men, our biological organism, and especially our brain, has become so formed by permanent exercise that it is now able not only to acquire knowledge but also to know. We bring inherited quasi-knowledge with us through birth. We remember, in like manner, through abilities inherited from our ancestors. If we could make an experiment of bringing up a child, as in the myth of Romulus and Remus, expelled from human society, nourished by an animal and forced as Robinson Crusoe to develop his own primitive civilization, such an individual would be able much more quickly to create and reconstruct the primitive social circumstances by his inherited knowledge than a man of this modern age is able to understand such complex, new inventions as, for instance, the radio. C. G. Jung who has studied comprehensively this sphere of phenomena of mental inheritance, speaks of the archetypical knowledge which we bring with us by birth. This archetypical knowledge has in itself a system covering the most important human and outworld relations of a human being as: family, sex, feeding, natural, and even cosmic relations, and especially the mythological facts.

And even if we are not really conscious of them, we have a half-conscious or even unconscious knowledge or—in words to accommodate the present psychological terminology—an unconscious relation with these fundamental realities of life, or a life instinct, as others like to say. From these fundamental attitudes and orientation rural consciousness is derived, and out of this it creates its folklore wisdom. Our scientific knowledge lies in a sphere of rationality and consciousness; the system of the rural consciousness, however, lies mostly in an unconscious world. Meanwhile the scientific con-

sciousness lives in definite negation of anything which could be called an unconscious or half-conscious fact of inner life, while the rural consciousness centers directly about these spheres.

Our insight into the mnemonical and archetypal character of rural consciousness gives us further an understanding of another of its fundamental traits. We know that all rural consciousness stems from a tendency to somewhat traditionalize knowledge and wisdom. Meanwhile science wants to be up-to-date by using the latest results of our investigations and wants to be always new and renewed in its persistent viewpoints; rural consciousness on the contrary tends to base itself upon old or "forefather" wisdom. We understand this if we consider that archetypal knowledge is inherited and very old. It has, however, the specific characteristic that it is not "old" in the sense that historically or conservatively-minded people understand this. It is not traditional as is book-knowledge; it is more elementary, more biological, and therefore, always real and permanent. If a nobleman, out of his historical traditional mind, tries to retain a custom, he is reverting to a historical, mostly written tradition. If a farmer adheres to his folklore traditions, it is from an impulse similar to that which makes a little chicken pick up food only a few hours after it has left the shell. Here is seen the relationship to nature, since the experience is elementary, hereditary, expressive only of the laws of nature. We come here again to that which Levy-Bruhl has called the "participation mystique." The rural consciousness is perfect realism, and even if it "believes" in folklore, it "wants" to experience reality.

At this point we shall attempt to answer the first one of our two questions, namely,

how the rural mind undergoes experiences which are strange to the scientific modern mind. For this purpose we have to compare again its functioning with that of the religious mind. We know that it is characteristic of the latter to believe in the traditional wisdom growing out of dogmatic settings. The religious mind believes in the teachings and ritualistic precepts of Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, Jesus, or Mohammed, whether history can prove that these as human beings have ever lived or not. Their systems of truths contain a kind of evidence in themselves which gives the religious followers a definitive confidence in them. There are, however, forms of religious experience which do not believe simply in dogmatic settings, but rely on personal proof. For the one we should be able to touch with the fingers the wounds of the resurrected Christ in order to believe in his resurrection; in the others we believe in God only if we are able to realize his existence in our own souls. Forms of religion such as this exist everywhere and are called mystical. The mystic believes not simply in the religious facts; he wants a clear knowledge of their empirical existence, as empirical as modern science demands. But this empiricism is not scientific, as modern science would recognize it, but one which is less inductive as it is more intuitive. In the same way the rural mind experiences life. It believes not simply in the folklore wisdom, but believes it only after having experienced it. *This makes rural consciousness a kind of natural mystic.* It is an insight into natural facts, in an unscientific way an "Einfühlung" into reality, a "participation mystique."

Outside of our modern scientific sphere many have been able to live and study expressions of rural consciousness and have been fascinated by the sense of reality

which grows and develops from such experiences. We might take the case of an old "horse-man" who prophesied that a certain colt would become lame in a year or two. Veterinarian examinations showed nothing wrong with the colt, but within eighteen months the colt was lame. Such insight into not only the physical and physiological, but into dynamic activities and forces as well, is astounding in its reality. I could mention many similar examples. No one would call such insight into natural relationships fantastic or superstitious, even though not arrived at through scientific investigation. This "Einfühlung" into natural relations which develops into a whole system of conceptions is characteristic of the rural mind. And this manner of deduction, aside from our scientific manner of experience, can be called neither worthless, nor a product of the superstition everywhere intermingled with simple, primitive mental life. Indeed our modern civilization together with urban mental life is not less completely interwoven with superstition than is that of rural people.

In this study of the rural consciousness, however, we must give some consideration to the wider relationship between specific rural knowledge and its attitudes to the other fields of mental life. There arises, for instance, the question of the frequent curious, negative, and restricted behavior of rural people with respect to new and scientific facts and their slow and distrustful adaptation to them, which is connected with a conservative clinging to their folklore beliefs. This is due, I believe, on the one hand, to the difficulties a rural mind undergoes in adapting, to its own manner of conception, facts and ideas acquired by scientific thinking. On the other hand, there arise great difficulties and problems for the rural

mind with its rather simple system of knowledge—developed through unconscious concepts—if forced to adopt conscious concepts. This problem plays a major role, particularly in our times, since agriculture through social, scientific, rural planning is spreading a great deal of scientific knowledge throughout the rural world. Those who have to deal with this are well aware of the slowness and difficulty with which the farmer alone can adopt this knowledge in the form in which it has been developed and is now being offered.

There is an abyss between the unconscious mental system of the rural mind and any conscious system, especially when the conscious is a mixture of folklore and of scientific knowledge. It is always difficult for an individual mind which lives mostly on unconscious or half-conscious resources to develop a broader conscious system of knowledge; instead he clings to this rather thin intellectual framework, with the strong conviction and conservatism, characteristic of the rural conscious mind. This conservatism is still crossed with a half-conscious distrust of scientific results, the basis of understanding and the proof of truthfulness of which is not directly given in the rural conscious concept. The distrust the scientific agriculturalist observes when he converses with the farmer is thus understandable. *The problem which agricultural planning faces is either to accommodate its ideas and programs to the rural mind's mental bias or to try to educate it towards modern scientific consciousness.* Both ways should naturally be approached simultaneously.

In speaking of the educational problem, it is naturally not the best thing in so-called rural education to attempt to convert rural consciousness completely into a modern scientific one. Rural

consciousness has in some respects qualities which fit rural life and rural activity better than modern scientific viewpoints. To destroy an older, better form and dynamics of living in a rural environment and to replace it with a less useful new one would be neither functional nor progressive. In this respect the educational problem is a most difficult one. Its task is *to develop a new form of rural consciousness which is derived from an amalgamation of qualities of old and new concepts*, or, in other words, a totalistic and realistic conception with the primary use of "Einfühlungs-perception" in modern scientific form. This is a task which, to my knowledge, not one of the present agriculturalists has attempted or considered.

In completing our study of rural consciousness we must still consider the important fact of the relation of rural mentality to the *religious way of living*. He is right who maintains that to a rural life belongs some form of religious background, either a dogmatic religion, a mysticism, or an elementary mythological paganism. Those who have followed my discussion with some understanding will surely not have any difficulty in surmising the connection. We spoke of the similarity of the unconscious or half-conscious system of the totalistic conception of the rural mind with that of the great religions. Naturally these systems have great spiritual effectiveness as well as wide development and educational value in human rural life, even if they are less real, in their often decadent forms, less elementary, less sound and adaptable. There exists a wide similarity and a definite leaning of the rural consciousness toward some kind

of religious concept, especially with respect to the religious metaphysical side of human life. *The rural man is much more a "homo-religious" type than any other social type in the world of modern civilization.* His conservative mental behavior gives him a tendency to adhere to religious traditions even when they have lost much of their effectiveness in modern scientific and urban civilization. Rural consciousness will always have more of a tendency toward religious metaphysics, including paganism, than toward any scientific, philosophical, or rational solution of the fundamental questions of human life.

Let us now turn back to the example with which we started this study. We mentioned the paradoxical fact that in rural districts a calendar is still valued for the superstitious prophecies and astrological beliefs of the prescientific period of two hundred years ago. The interest in such old calendarium results, on the one hand, from the tendencies toward belief in traditional natural concepts which go back to folklore and even to religious wisdom, and on the other hand, from the wish to understand the environmental facts for which science offers no easily understandable or applicable explanation. *Where science cannot offer them for the rural consciousness to any considerable extent, there must be reliance on old truths of which inherited knowledge gives the needed understanding.* Therefore, we must not blame the farmer that he "lags behind" because this is due to a lack of modern scientific help; *it is science itself which is unable to give needed information in the wider spheres of experience that are outside the scope of modern scientific life.*

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE PLACE OF SOCIOLOGY IN GENERAL EDUCATION*

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

THE contributions which sociology can make to general education are: First, and logically so in the light of the *general* character of the education under consideration,¹ sociology can provide the basic ingredient and point of view for a comprehensive and related view of the social order. Second, the "principles" course can illuminate the world of the student's "choices and concerns." Third, the sociologist as teacher, can by conceiving himself as *educator*—which he unavoidably is—achieve a clearer perspective of the relation which his field of knowledge bears to general education.

The case for the contention that sociology *can* make an important contribution to a comprehensive and related view of the social order should perhaps not be presented until the *necessity* for it has been established. In the light of the fact

that general education seeks a remedy for excessive specialization that necessity would seem to be established. We seek ultimately, I suppose, to create a general social science but until scientists and scholars have made that possible, teachers will have to experiment with practical devices through which a workable liaison can be effected between the major social disciplines. The choice at present lies between continuing the traditional offerings, namely highly specialized courses in the various social sciences, *and* trying to develop methods which will permit social reality to be treated somewhat more in terms of the patterns it assumes than merely of the pieces of which these patterns are made. Obviously the whole can be known only in terms of its parts rather than as *whole* but even this is not true unless the *relationship between the parts* is made clear. It is this relationship between the parts, i.e., the social disciplines, which has until the last decade been largely wanting.

The necessity for the establishment of close and cooperative relations between the social disciplines in general education rests, however, not so much on the logical as upon the *moral* aspect of the problem. The crisis state of western civilization

* Adapted from a paper read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940.

¹ There is little consensus of what general education is or ought to be. For me it is fairly synonymous with 'cultural' or 'liberal' education and as such places its emphasis on broad fields of knowledge rather than on specialized disciplines. For an exhaustive bibliography see: Earl J. McGrath, "A Bibliography in General Education," *Educational Record*, January 1940, pp. 96-118. See especially citations 35, 51, 53, 73, 106 and 123.

confronts us with a moral problem. It is a social and a moral one in the sense that all human behavior is social and moral and also in the sense of the all-pervading character of the social and moral order. If the object of a general education, in its largest terms, may be identified as the preparation of the student not only to adjust to this crisis state but also to aid in its resolution, he must first *understand* it. This will depend first on his seeing it in as real and hence in as total and integral terms as possible. This is not to deny that the separate disciplines can and do *separately* address themselves to various aspects of this crisis. So also, separately, did the blind men of India "address themselves" to the elephant. The fallacy of depending upon the method of *addition* rather than the method of *integration* is patent in both instances.

If the necessity for an emphasis on the interrelations between the social sciences has been established the claim that sociology *can* play a dominant role in such an enterprise may now be addressed. That it can, rests primarily on the fact that the concern of sociology is with *all* human behavior no matter what its unique label or where its theatre. The concern of economics and political science is with special "economic" and "political" aspects of human behavior. Thus it is obvious that by the very character of their common, though not co-extensive, concern with human behavior these disciplines overlap and interpenetrate. Political and economic processes do not then move in a social vacuum but are, in reality, only special aspects of the total social process which sociology comprehends.

Furthermore certain relations between economics and sociology can be shown to obtain. "Let us take the statement: If the buyers increase the total demand

for a commodity, other things remaining equal, the sellers will . . . raise their sale prices. . . . According to our daily experiences we are inclined to answer that it is fairly probable that they will. . . . Unfortunately, we cannot guarantee such certainty. . . . There may be pupils of Tolstoi or Ghandi among them declining such an 'exploitation' of the buyers. . . ."² Here is evidence that sociology intrudes into the behavior of the economic man. It is my thesis that its intrusion needs more and more to be taken account of.

As for the close relationship between sociology and political science the case is relatively clearer and admitted in practice. This is due to the fact that political science, insofar as it is not interested merely in describing the structure of government, concerns itself with power relations which are, in the final analysis, human relations. Its concern is then with a particular segment of human relations which are the object of sociological interest.

In such a collaboration of the social sciences it would be necessary for each to subordinate its claim to the status of a specialized discipline in order to treat social phenomena as comprehensively and realistically as possible. The partners to such an enterprise would then be, not *disciplines* but rather concentrations of subject matters within the general field of sociology. That some identification of separate disciplines would result as a sort of by-product would be entirely defensible and perhaps neither possible nor proper to avoid. All I am saying is that general education is not the place to treat the disciplines *as such*.

² Adolf Löwe, *Economics and Sociology* (London: George Allen & Unwin) pp. 50-51. See also *The Social Sciences: Their Relations in Theory and Teaching*, especially Mannheim's paper, "The Place of Sociology," (London: LePlay House, 1936).

The second point I wish to make has, in the light of my insistence on the merits of a *general* education, a somewhat paradoxical character. It is that the "principles" course in sociology has, traditionally, been *too* general. By this I mean that it has concerned itself with principles to the neglect of an adequate concern with their *relevance*. The result has been that the principles have taken on no significant meaning. In those instances where some attempt was made to relate them to social action, too often it was to situations so far removed from the student's world that either his interest was lost or the "transfer" failed to work. But even less defensible is the introductory course which concerns itself almost exclusively with the definition of concepts (really a course in semantics) to the exclusion of almost every other objective. In it a sterile specificity has been combined with a useless form of generality that constitutes one of the most perfect instances of *rote learning* in the history of American collegiate education.³

What then is the *must* which sociology as a separate discipline owes to general education? Briefly this: to bring the principles of sociology down to the understandable and practical level of the students' "daily choices and concerns." If this be labeled by some as anti-intellectual, then the obligation falls to them to show in what way the creation of confusion in the student's mind and the waste of his time in "memory exercises" can be defended as pro-intellectual. I would not rob from the principles course any of its emphasis on the logic of the science nor would I make less rigorous, in any

way, the intellectual challenge which it, properly taught, can give. I would, however, so define its objectives that it would give sense and meaning to the world in which the student lives. In other words, I would seek to teach not just sociology but the sociology of something. I would do this because I believe, in Huxley's terms, that the end of knowledge is action. In this knowledge I would include appreciation, insight, and understanding without which intelligent social action is impossible.

There remains my third and final point. The desirability of the sociology teacher's conceiving himself as *educator* rests on a number of considerations. First, the sociologist as teacher *is* an educator. Second, this is true in a somewhat special sense of the word,—in the sense in which the educator helps in the preparation of teachers. With the growing emphasis on the necessity of the teacher's being "a good specimen of the culture" there is a disposition to draw no sharp line between his professional and general education. The sociologist, then, to the degree in which he participates in the teacher's general education enjoys the great privilege and incurs the equally great obligation of being a *teacher of teachers*. Third, if the sociologist will think of himself as educator he may thereby come to take a more objective and critical attitude toward himself as teacher. That this does not follow automatically I well know. I should hope however that having conceived of himself as educator, he would inquire what the professional educator could offer him by way of assistance in the technical aspects of teaching. The benefits would, I feel certain, be reciprocal for, as a result of an intelligent *rapprochement* between the professional educator and the subject-matter teacher, a long needed integration

³ For a brief but illuminating statement on rote learning see, "A Memorandum on Rote Learning," by Professor Robert E. Park, *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (July 1937), 23-37.

of methods and materials is already beginning to be effected. Fourth and finally, the preoccupation of many educators—especially the “progressives”—with what have been termed “individual student needs” makes the concern of the sociologist with educational method not only welcome but indispensable. That the individual student is, ultimately, the concern of the educational process or at least the point at which it and the culture articulate, I think none would deny. The point I am seeking to make is that preoccupation with *individual* needs must not go on to the neglect of the “needs” of the culture.⁴ In a very real sense, it would be disastrous to suggest a dualism of individual and cultural needs. The trouble lies in great part in the fact that an unclear concept such as “individual needs” can work more mischief than a

⁴ I am, as is obvious, waiving the problem of the meaning and legitimacy of the concept of “needs” and proceeding in terms of common sense.

wrong concept since it will not be so quickly discovered. But besides this dualism is the tendency to think of needs as discrete entities—like diseases which “exist in *rebus Naturae*” and as such . . . capable of being ‘discovered’ much as Columbus discovered America.”⁵ It is with reference to both of these misconceptions that the sociologist is especially prepared to lay bare the fallacy and danger and give the interpretation which his special competence permits.⁶

⁵ F. S. Crookshank, “The Importance of a Theory of Signs and a Critique of Language in the Study of Medicine,” C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, 3d ed., rev. (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930), p. 342.

⁶ From this brief and somewhat critical comment on the concept of “needs” it should not be inferred that I see no value in it. For a comprehensive treatment of the concept see Henry A. Murray and others, *Explorations in Personality* (Oxford University Press, 1938); Daniel A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process* (American Council on Education, 1938); and Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* (Newson & Co., 1938).

A SUGGESTED PLAN FOR HIGH SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY*

GEORGE W. STRONG

University of Pittsburgh

THERE is a growing need for the study of sociological materials in the secondary schools. It should become an integral part of our public education system and a recognized part of everyday life. What physical scientists have accomplished in making the school boy and the routine worker science conscious, we need to do in making them socially conscious.

This is not a plea for us to start action without careful consideration of the best

way to teach sociology merely because it is something to be done. The whole network of education has been wrestling with this problem. It is just as much the task of the secondary school as of the college, but the more specialized college had to determine the basic principles involved. Education is as concerned with the development of desirable social attitudes and philosophy for the individuals who never go to college as for those who do.

We need a course giving students an insight into how social experiences are consistently related, and which will give

* Adapted from a paper read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 3, 1940.

a sane social philosophy. What about their problems? What about their community? Here it is proposed that an experience course of this sort should be developed for the senior high schools.

Some sociology has been and is being taught in our public high schools. High school sociology courses are as diverse as the names of the texts used and the persons teaching them. Desirable as this may be, it is indicative of a need for a general consensus as to what content should be taught and possibly how it should be taught. A movement in this direction has been proposed in the American Sociological Society for the first course for college students. However, only main topics were suggested without any reference to their order or agreement on concepts. We would like to point out that there should be an order of arrangement for a useful high school course.

It is difficult to prescribe the field of content for sociology on the secondary level. First, because there is such a great bulk of current material which appears to the layman to be what he conceives as sociology. To him sociology is confused with the accumulation of startling data which call attention to needed social reforms. It is usually composed of spectacular situations which are subject matter for propaganda or for shocking people to take some action. Secondly, there is a popular trend even among teachers toward associating sociology with that which is fascinating, curious, unique, and pathological. We do need a better insight into what is *wrong* with our social lives. However, overemphasis of this view can be carried to the point where we fail to point out standards and values on what is *right* with society.

Basing our conclusions upon the texts that are available, we find five or more

approaches. First, there is the Current Problems approach which emphasizes disorganizing factors in society. The attempt is made to shock students into a consciousness of deplorable social conditions about which they become more hopelessly helpless since plausible solutions are vague. Problems of social welfare, crime, unemployment, international relations, slum conditions, and democracy are a few examples of the questions students and teachers set about to answer. The classroom atmosphere often becomes rarified with prejudicial and opinionated discussion. This presupposes that reforms will thereby be attained. The conglomerate mess is too big for them to untangle.

A second approach is what we may call the General or Topical approach. Very little thought has been given to order and organization of material. The pedagogical value of such an approach is questionable since it follows any number of non-related topics.

A third approach deals with Personality Development and Social Etiquette. A number of books have recently appeared ranging in material from business to recreation and their effect on personality. The material may be good and well organized but woven around one or two cores of thought. There is danger of developing only a tangent of the sphere.

A fourth approach, the Institutional, has been rather widely followed. If the material is well planned, such material can contribute successfully to an understanding of social living. Treatment of material should not be topheavy with structure and superstructure. The tendency has been to overstress government and the economic order and neglect a comprehensive discussion of other institutions closer to the conception of the individual student. When institutions

are used as the basis of organization, they should be viewed as parts of a changing social process.

The Process approach has been fairly well employed in recent developments of the social sciences. Most of this work has been carried into the social sciences from history. This approach is somewhat compatible with that which we would like to present in this paper.

Whatever we call the material presented in social science courses, there are some basic principles which are characteristic of any pattern of societal phenomena, to be followed in the treatment and presentation. Any social activity, regardless of time or place, can be analyzed and studied on the basis of certain recurrent phenomena. These are found in similar sequential patterns of relationship. The recurrent purposes, activities, and sequential relationships we are defining here as *societal continuities*. Continuity is congruous with one of the chief objectives of education, that of growth. Learning experiences must be continuous from one situation to the next if they are to be any more than unrelated boxcars in the educational train distributed on various sidings or coupled only by association.

Now let us turn to those societal continuities most characteristic of the study of society. From actual classroom experimentation, supplemented by the literature of sociology itself and current high school textbooks, we have arrived at eight fundamental societal continuities. We have attempted to follow a logical order in developing these continuities for classroom purposes. The eight societal continuities and the blocks or areas of content to which they apply are presented in Chart I.

In order that we may illustrate how these societal continuities can be applied to each of the blocks of content material,

we will use the family as an example. Most normal growing children find themselves in a community made up of certain groups. They are already in contemporary society. First of all a child finds himself a member of a family. This he recognizes. Next, he is influenced by the church at an early age. He plays before he comes in contact with organized education. His educational experiences delay his entry into occupational pursuits and the business of making a living until he is almost an adult, at which time his next major interest is occupational and economic. The next logical stage is that of interest and participation in civic and political life.

In studying his family, which the student knows by experience, he has seen changes that have come about and are continuing in family life. He may break down these changes into their various factors and classify situations and facts as to their significance. Change in size, birth rates, hereditary qualities are readily recognized as biological. Change in place of residence, natural resources, making a living, differences in the way people live are geographical aspects. Varying attitudes and abilities of parents, children and society in general, reflect the psychological. Cultural changes in family life will be more real to the student when he can easily see how science and invention, education and economics are constantly altering modes of living of families.

The students will then trace the various social processes and how they operate within the family. Family contacts and interactions, conflict, competition and cooperation are easily supplemented by appropriate illustrations and activities.

As every organized social group has certain purposes and functions these will be pointed out for the family. The same is true for organization and structure.

Rather than spend all our time on problems of disorganization we consider such recurrent phenomena as only a part of the study of the family. These may be considered without undue emphasis.

major blocks of content. It is the study of these recurrent activities which make up the content of our subject matter.

Most schools do not teach sociology as a distinct discipline. What is taught is

CHART I
OVERVIEW FOR HIGH SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY

RECURRING ACTIVITIES OR FUNDAMENTAL CONTINUITIES	BLOCKS	SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS							
		I. Community and Its Groups	II. The Family Group	III. The Leisure Time Group	IV. Religious and Moral Group	V. Educational Groups	VI. Occupational Groups Economic Structure	VII. Cultural and Racial Group	VIII. Civic Groups and Political Organization
A. Individual's Adjustment to Society									
1. Social World Encountered									
2. Individual's Place in It									
B. Social Origins and Elements									
C. Factors in Social Change									
1. Biological									
2. Geographical									
3. Psychological									
4. Cultural									
D. Social Processes									
1. Contact and Interaction									
2. Conflict									
3. Competition									
4. Cooperation									
E. Social Functions and Purposes									
F. Social Organization, Structure, Type									
G. Problems of Social Change									
H. Social Control									
1. Use of Scientific Method									

Since one of the ultimate aims of organized group life is that of social control, we cannot stress its importance too often. This is true in any phase of social life and especially applicable in the study of the family. Thus each of the recurring activities or fundamental continuities is considered in its application to each of the

a general social science. Of this a small part is composed of history, economics, political science and sociology, or consists of a general medley of problems. These problems presumably are dealt with from the viewpoint of these special social sciences. However, whether sociology is taught as a distinct subject, as a part of

a group of subjects, or as incidental in explaining a medley of social problems, it is necessary that the sociological principles shall be exact and correct.

The plan proposed here should be flexible enough to meet the needs and material of any community. Its success will depend very much on the personality, ingenuity and background of the individual teachers. We must translate these continuities into understandable terms and learning situations for the student. He should be encouraged to help guide his own learning as well as to follow our

guidance. A major aim in this approach is to organize teaching material to show relationships rather than to stress innumerable unrelated facts. Less emphasis should be placed on speed in digesting and regurgitating bulks of subject matter and going through motions of educational activity. More emphasis should be placed on developing individual and group methods of studying and sampling characteristic areas of society. Instead of teaching subject matter, let us help students in their learning.

EXPERIENCE IN DEVELOPING A COMMUNITY PROGRAM OF EDUCATION*

GLENN KENDALL

Superintendent of Education, Norris, Tennessee

ASCHOOL is not an isolated institution in a community. It cannot ignore the fact that there are other educative agencies and that an effective program of education cannot be considered apart from these other educative agencies in the community. Probably much of our educational program goes back to the time when children received their education at home and went to school only for book learning. In that day, the home and community were places where all people lived and worked together. The ideals and habits of life, the manners, the morals were learned as needed and in real life situations.

Since life in the home and community is changed, our educational program must lean away from "lesson learning" and must, if effective, rest upon a utilization of the life of the community. And it is

basic to the development of such an instructional program that it be understood and accepted by the community, the teachers, and the pupils.

We like to think of the Norris School not only as a school but also as the center of an educational program serving both children and adults of Norris and the neighboring area. In recent years this desire has been at least partially realized, and today the school serves as a community center and acts as a working base for most of the activities of the town. The town of Norris has a population of about 1,200 and is one of a few towns in America built from the ground up as a planned community. The Planning Division states: "It represents the town planner's basic thesis that the best foundation for healthy community life is a community deliberately planned to provide it." The rural area around Norris is a typical southern area, mostly

* Adapted from a paper read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940.

farms and with a usual number of small villages.

Education, as stated in the educational philosophy governing the development of our program, is a continuous process including all age groups. To such an end, the program starts with a nursery group and extends through high school with definite community relationships and adult activities. The students of the elementary school are residents of the town of Norris, while more than two-thirds of the secondary group are from a rural area within a radius of about ten miles.

Whatever progress which may have been made in the program here is an outgrowth of the philosophy formulated by the faculty in these terms:

"The aim of education in Norris is to develop healthy, intelligent citizens and happy, socially useful members of a democratic society. . . . We believe that the learning process is made most effective through first-hand experiences and by studying the basic problems of the present living world with its related contributions of the past. It is our aim to have students assume increasing responsibility for their work and individual growth and to become conscious that education . . . is a continuous process extending throughout life in time and space.

Other statements such as ". . . the community is used as much as possible for first-hand study" or "Textbooks are used with due regard to their limitations" serve to clarify the stated educational philosophy in more concrete terms.

Perhaps the most important part of our educational philosophy is the expression of faith in the democratic way of life and the attempt to apply it to education by ". . . having the students and teachers share in the planning, in the execution and in the evaluation of their total educational program." This principle has made for a dynamic, ever-changing curriculum in all departments.

This brief statement of the community served and the educational philosophy underlying the program prefaces the discussion of phases of the program dealing with "older participants."

Before entering into this phase of the discussion, it should be pointed out that the concept of a community school is still struggling for emergence into a position of significance. To date it has been best defined by what it was not—a school set off from its society with a pronounced faith in abstract knowledge. At Norris it is being attempted to define it in more positive terms, and the following descriptions are examples of an attempt to make the school a positive force in the life of the community. It is not easy to separate this program into parts for children and adults.

In the early days of the town of Norris when there were hundreds of workmen busy constructing the dam and the town, the Authority maintained two libraries here: one for adults at the camp site and one for the children at the school building. As the workmen withdrew at the end of the construction period, plans were made to combine these facilities. Reasons are obvious: a small town and school were to be served; it would hardly be argued that duplicating facilities from an economic viewpoint could be justified; by combining services, enriched programs could be offered both groups, etc. In October 1936 the facilities were combined. We now have a library of approximately 13,000 well selected volume for our school and community. The report from the librarian which came to me this week showed that for the last month we had borrowers numbering 2,500 and that the circulation was 2,334—51 percent of which was non-fiction.

The Norris educational program has never developed a program of inter-

scholastic athletics. It has been felt that a program designed to serve all the people could be best developed by eliminating the interschool competition thereby releasing the time and energy of the director, which is usually devoted to only a few, to planning for the entire group. To that end, our staff member in charge of physical education for boys in school is also the recreation leader for the community. He assists in developing with all the citizens a program of recreation designed to meet their needs and as they express interests. This past month his report showed activities with the following groups: Men's Gym Class; Social Dancing Class for Older Groups; Sportsmen's Clubs; Casting Club; Archery Club and instruction; Badminton; Basketball Clinic; Group Game Program; Easter Egg Hunt; Softball Manager's Meeting; High School Social Party; Community Dance; Skeet Shoot; Kite Tournament; and Duplicate Bridge. There were 46 meetings with an attendance of 1,260. Such unorganized activities as skating, tennis, handball, ping pong, etc., were estimated to have been attended in meetings by another 1,350 persons.

As with the library in the construction days of Norris, many of the employees engaged in a program of training in shop activities. When this work was ended, a small school and community shop were organized. It is open during school hours to pupils within the school and to adults in the evening and on Saturdays. The citizens of the community have found this an excellent opportunity to do all kinds of work from repairing the rake handle and farm tools to making some of the nicest furniture in our community. Last month's report showed 168 persons attending the shop and working approximately 1,000 hours.

In the educational program as developed

in the art and crafts room, one sometimes finds it difficult to get the adults out of the way for the pupils of the school to have room to work. Of especial interest to adult groups are such activities as weaving, pottery, and pewter work. The homes of the community display many beautiful and useful pieces made in the Arts and Crafts Room, and the persons creating these pieces are better as the result of the making.

The theater project, which is housed in the school, is a part of the educational program. Selection of films is made, not on the basis of net financial profit, but on the basis of value to the community. It is a self-supported project and nets enough to allow films to be used for educational purposes only.

A very vital part of the community program is the Religious Fellowship. The citizens voted in favor of a fellowship worship rather than trying to form denominational churches in a small community. The work which this Fellowship does is an integral and vital part of the educational program, although under no relationship other than a cooperating one. The Minister of the Fellowship has his office in the school plant and works closely with the educational program in the improvement of the school. The Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the Good Neighbors are associated with the Fellowship and are active in the improvement of community life.

The educational program at Norris, The Anderson County Board of Education, the Anderson County Health Department, the University of Tennessee, the State Department of Health are all cooperating in a health education program for the community, which is closely coordinated by a Health Education Coordinator with the other agencies of the community. This health education proj-

ect is an example of how one agency can do its best work by associating with others in a common endeavor. The Business Education Department, the Agriculture Department, and the Home Making Department are other examples of how a school can serve the community. Each Monday afternoon pupils of the school deliver to each home in the community a mimeographed sheet or sheets showing all the various meetings and activities for the week.

These examples just given are those which show the services being rendered the community. If time were available, it would be of equal interest and importance to explore how the community helps in the building of the educational program. Such groups as the Little Theater players, the Sportsmen's Club, the Labor organizations, the Garden Club, the Music Club, the American Legion, the Parent-Teacher Association, the Safety Service, etc., have aided in a very material way the program of the school.

While all these things discussed above have been along the lines of community relationship in the sense of a restricted

area, there are other affiliations which we believe are very desirable and which offer unusual opportunities in cooperating and developing the instructional program. Some of these are: The Training Division of the Authority; the University of Tennessee; the Anderson County Board of Education; The Tennessee State Department of Education; the Tennessee State Department of Conservation; the Tennessee State Department of Health; the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools through its commission on Curricular Study; and the commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. All these outside agencies bring to the local educational program a breadth of view and a vision which is extremely stimulating and valuable in the development of the program.

The Norris School is thus not an isolated institution but an integral part of the community where people live and work together. Viewed in this light the school is a place where one may study ways in which to enjoy the abiding satisfaction of life and how to lift the level, improve the quality of everyday living.

POPULATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The Population Association of America held its 8th Annual Meeting in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, May 1-2, 1940, with a program devoted to reports of Current Research in Population. Officers elected for the ensuing year are: President, T. J. Woofter, Jr.; 1st Vice-President, Raymond Pearl; 2d Vice-President, Samuel A. Stouffer; Treasurer, Frederick Osborn; Secretary, Conrad Taeuber. The following were elected to the Board of Directors for the term ending in 1943: Clyde V. Kiser, C. E. Lively, Frank Lorimer, J. J. Spengler.

CONRAD TAEUBER,
Secretary.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

FINGERPRINTS: BLACK MARKS AGAINST THE MIGRANT

MYRON FALK

Louisiana Department of Public Welfare

"GRAPES of Wrath" is of recent vintage; but the problem uncorked within its pages has been long aged. The plight and trials of the migrant on the road have been forcibly brought to our attention by recent literature. The problem is age old. People have always migrated and perhaps always shall, because migration is a natural phenomenon of our life. It is only lately, however, that sufficient interest has been aroused to accelerate the formulation of plans for the care of unemployed persons on the road. To do this, however, we must attempt to classify the migrants and the task is not easy. Too often the migrant is "Mr. Atkins," the worker, in a community when the crop is to be harvested, but the day after the job is completed, he becomes a bum, and then it's "Tommy this, and Tommy that, and Tommy go away."

Figures obtained from the Federal Transient Program indicate the problem is of minor extent, but it looms larger because of the emotional reaction of the local communities. During the existence of the Federal Transient Bureau, the number of transients under care reached a peak of slightly over 300,000 persons in

February, 1935. This number was but 1.5 percent of the 20,000,000 persons receiving assistance from resident programs during that same month.¹ The cost of the transient program that month was 2.5 percent of the cost of the resident program. Additional statistics tell us the vast majority of the transients were native-born white citizens and most of them were between the ages of 25 to 35, an age group of highly productive and employable persons. It is true a minority were on the road not to find employment, but to seek health, or escape from unbearable situations at home, or (an even smaller minority—less than 5 percent) an outlet for pure wanderlust. But regardless of the causes of transiency, some form of assistance should be available when needed.

The migrant is not considered a problem until he applies for assistance. There is no hesitancy in allowing the migrant other community services but the problem arises from the elimination of this group from relief because of their lack of resi-

¹ Total resident case load for February, 1935 was 5,438,506, representing 20,551,198 persons. February census of transients under care listed 158,353 unattached individuals and 40,259 families containing 142,107 individuals.

dence. The communities' rulings in regard to relief for migrants in need create this problem, and not the persons on the move.

Our lack of uniformity in settlement laws and in their application helps in making problems for the man on the road. If a migrant who leaves his home town to seek employment is not able to find it in twelve months, he becomes a man without a State, though with a country—a citizen at large. He can look to no State for assistance.

Migratory workers are necessary to an economic system because of the need for skilled workers and seasonal workers in a particular community for a limited period of time. These workers cannot be stabilized in one community because our agricultural and industrial life would collapse without them. If every migratory worker could be anchored in a community today, our economic system would demand the creation of a new group tomorrow.

Criticism that adequate care for the transient creates transiency, has not been proved by experience. Similarly, the withholding of assistance from this group, or the creating of unreasonable barriers which must be hurdled before assistance is granted, does not act as a deterrent to those persons who migrate. Transiency or migration is not a problem in itself, but a symptom of the greater socio-economic problem. Its solution cannot be reached solely by the giving or withholding of assistance.

The point at which no distinction is made between resident and transient relief is in the not uncommon community attack on all relief groups. For instance, recently certain restrictions have been placed against the man seeking assignment to WPA. Rumors have been flying that all persons in need of assistance should lose certain of the civil liberties

guaranteed to all under the Constitution. Foremost among these is the suggestion that persons receiving assistance from a social agency, should lose the right to vote. The attacks against the transient have been more vicious. In some places transients have been forced to submit to being fingerprinted before any assistance can be granted them. Deterrents and stigmatism such as this belong to the 17th century.

Whether all persons should be fingerprinted for civil purposes is a moot question. There are those who believe such records could be of great use for all the people. However, it is not the purpose of this article to defend or criticize fingerprinting for civil purposes; it is to discuss the use of fingerprinting on a discriminatory basis against the transients as a group, merely because they lack residence and are in need of assistance. It is unfair to subject any group to this procedure as a qualification for assistance, especially since fingerprinting has criminal implications.

Persons favoring fingerprinting list as one of the positive elements the protection of the innocent transient as well as the transient agency. Only by fingerprinting, the proponents argue, can a community be convinced that the average transient is not a wanted criminal, and on the other hand, that the agency is not harboring persons wanted for crimes. It seems as though an agency needing this proof to convince the community that all transients are not desperate criminals, is not fulfilling its complete responsibility toward the community or to the group it serves. Most agencies continually have to face criticisms from communities. Many communities have complained that the work program makes certain groups of persons lazy, that workers refuse employment in private industry because the

relief wages are higher and the jobs easier, and that the public assistance program encourages desertion on the part of the husband so that his family may qualify for assistance.

These attitudes can be corrected only through a well planned program of interpretation by the agency to the community. Similarly, the transient agency must face the community and assert its responsibility to the group it serves. An agency which resorts to fingerprinting is following the line of least resistance, but is failing in its function as a social agency. It is perhaps true many communities would like to see transients fingerprinted before they are given any assistance, but there are also many communities which would prefer to see relief grants lowered, so that relief does not become too attractive. There is still a feeling that as many deterrents as possible should be placed between the applicant and assistance. It is the responsibility of an agency, by proper interpretation, to keep the deterrents to a minimum. It would be disastrous for an agency to yield to community pressure and reduce relief levels below the standard compatible with decency and health, in order to make relief so repulsive that only the most destitute would seek it.

Some of the agencies now using fingerprinting as one of the requisites of eligibility, report that its use is optional with the applicant. Just how far this claim is valid, no one can say. There are indications that the applicant is aware of the fact that if he refuses to be fingerprinted, he may not receive assistance. There is little real choice left to him and he must either submit to this humiliating practice or run the risk of being rejected by the agency.

Identification in case of death is another reason listed for fingerprinting. We all

realize that the conditions under which transients live make their lives more hazardous, and the need of identification is perhaps great, but since it is estimated that there are nearly a half million persons on the road, are we justified in requiring the fingerprinting of all these for the small number of cases that may need this method of identification?

There is also the argument that fingerprint records are a valuable source of social data on the applicant. If any successful relationship is to be established between the transient and the agency, there can be no use of information obtained under these conditions. Proper relationships depend on mutual understanding of both client and agency. The impracticability of securing information from this source is also to be considered.

The Division on Transients of the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies recently took the following action on fingerprinting:

1. Fingerprinting of a group of social agency clients is counter to sound case work practice.
2. It is counter to modern trends to single out transients as a special category.
3. It is inconsistent for any social agency to make a move which destroys the confidential nature of its relationship to the client, particularly at a time when agencies are endeavoring to establish a claim that the information secured from a client is privileged, and are even defending this claim before the courts.

One of the agencies using fingerprinting as a part of the eligibility requirements recently published a study² of the results of this practice. The study brought out many interesting facts but the general conclusions that transients are criminals is not sound. In this study, the fingerprints of 858 transient men asking help from the Travelers Aid Society in Rich-

² Guild. "Transients in a New Guise," Social Forces, March, 1938.

mond, Virginia, were studied. It was learned by clearing these prints through the FBI office, over 61 percent had been previously fingerprinted 2,181 times. Nineteen hundred and twenty-five of the fingerprints were for crimes; 256 were non-criminal records. Drunkenness and liquor violations accounted for the largest number of charges placed against those fingerprinted. Five hundred and eighty-nine, or 30.6 percent, were charged with this "crime." Larceny was second, having 218 charges, or 11.3 percent, followed closely by suspicion—200 charges, or 10.4 percent, and vagrancy which had 194 charges, or 10 percent. Fifth in the number of charges was trespassing on railroad property or trainriding, accounting for 128 charges, or 6.6 percent. In all, 1,268 of the 1,925 records, or 65.8 percent, were for non-serious law violations.

Further, these figures represent charges and not convictions. Some State laws limit the period a person can be held unless the charge is serious. In order to hold a suspect for a longer period, many transients are charged with serious crimes and held, only to be later proved guilty of nothing more serious than vagrancy. The charge is then changed to vagrancy, but are the records corrected or is the new charge merely added? There can be serious thought as to the validity of the charges placed against the transients. Too often, the jungle is cleaned up, or everyone having no visible means of support is picked up after a crime has been committed. Just as often, a resident is found to be the guilty person and the migrants are released but told to get out of town.

Practically every community has exerted sufficient pressure on its police force to make periodic raids of shelters housing transients. Men are taken to jail in a group raid and are charged with various

crimes. Similar previous arrests work against the man when his case is heard. There is nothing he can do to prevent his police record from growing, as long as looking for a job is a crime in the United States.

We must be aware that because of the lack of an adequate program for persons on parole, many take to the road in an effort to adjust themselves. It is difficult for a person who has served a sentence to be able to make all of the adjustments in his own town. For this reason he may migrate. If we are to rehabilitate such a person we cannot continually remind him of his past record, with responsible social agencies in the role of the policeman *Javert* in pursuit of the transient *Jean Valjean*. If fingerprinting was instituted as a requirement, certainly parolees would avoid social agencies, and efforts to rehabilitate this group would be lost.

If the social agency requests fingerprint information from the law enforcement agency, the request of the former agency may be listed on the criminal record in the latter agency. Such a listing might lead to requests for the social agency's case record information by other law enforcement agencies which have access to the "criminal" record through the fingerprint identification service. For example, social agency in City A clears with fingerprint identification bureau. The request is listed on the transient's record. Law enforcement agency in City B clears these same fingerprints through the identification bureau. The report is made to the law enforcement agency in City B that the "criminal" was known to the social agency in City A. The agency in City B might naturally request information from the social agency. Social agencies have for years defended their claim that information they secure from a client is privileged and confidential. Therefore, the use of finger-

printing may bring pressure from law enforcement agencies, insisting that the information from social agency records be made available to them.

It is agreed that our one hope for financial assistance to the migrant is through Federal aid to the States. The possibility of obtaining this aid is lessened by the use of fingerprinting as a requirement of eligibility. Such a practice

amounts to conditioning a grant, and since the Federal Government through its Social Security Board has definitely disapproved of conditioned grants, Federal aid is not likely to be forthcoming as long as fingerprinting is accepted as a policy of granting assistance to migrants. Our stand on fingerprinting must be clarified before we can expect aid from the Federal level.

THE STATE-USE SYSTEM OF PRISON LABOR IN MASSACHUSETTS

HAROLD E. LANE

Massachusetts Department of Correction

THE field of prison labor literature is characterized by an astonishing dearth of detail concerning policies, practices, and problems. Massachusetts prison labor literature is no exception to this rule, for nothing has been published by its correctional authorities or others which deals extensively with matters of prison labor administration. However, annual reports of the Department of Correction, reports of the Legislature, and the statutes pertaining to prison labor do illumine the path which prison labor administrators have taken. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, to explore this path with the aid of available documentary evidence in a search for clues to the forces which shaped the direction of prison labor history in Massachusetts.

According to Hiller¹ the State-use system of prison labor has been gradually developing in the United States ever since the time when mechanics began their opposition to the introduction of their

trades into prison industry. As early as 1839 the journeymen and master cordwainers of the District of Columbia memorialized Congress on the detrimental effect of the prison shoe industry, and urged that prison-made goods be applied to the use of the Army and Navy and other public institutions. Seven years later New York took its first positive action towards the establishment of a State-use system when the 1846 Legislature passed Chapter 324 of the 1846 Laws providing that the Auburn and Mt. Pleasant Prisons be credited for the value of the clothing manufactured for the use of the State Prison at Clinton. By 1887 the States of Ohio and Nevada as well as the District of Columbia had been authorized by appropriate legislation to produce in their respective prisons goods to be used by government agencies.

It is worth noting that these State-use developments crystallized just when a report of the United States Commissioner of Labor had rejected the system. The report had urged that governmental wants were far less than the productive capacity of prisons and that adoption of a State-use

¹ E. T. Hiller, "Development of the Systems of Control of Convict Labor in the United States," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 261-262 (July 1914).

system would be harmful to the individual concerns who would lose the trade afforded by supplying government goods.²

Abolition of the contract labor system in 1883 resulted in idleness among thousands of prisoners in New York and led to the passage of a State-use law in 1888 (revised in 1889 as the Fasset Law) which among other things required all State institutions to purchase their provisions from prison unless exempted by the superintendent. According to Klein³ this law represented the first attempt in a single comprehensive piece of legislation to eradicate all the evils of prison labor. It sought to abolish or at least diminish competition with outside labor. It provided a market for prison products within State institutions. It introduced a system of classification which took account of the needs of inmates for trade instruction and harmonized their needs with the requirements of the prison; and it made provision for the payment of wages to prisoners. In 1895 this law was supplemented by a statute requiring all State departments to purchase from the prisons as long as their needs could adequately be supplied.

Following New York's adoption of the State-use system, the American Federation of Labor "urged all of its affiliated unions everywhere to work for the enactment of State-use laws similar to the New York law."⁴ Further impetus was given to the State-use movement by the recommendations of the United States Industrial Commission of 1900. It reported that as

of the year 1899 a total of 43 states had adopted the State-use system either in whole or in part.

One of the first intimations that the contract labor system in Massachusetts was being put on the defensive after more than fifty years of successful operation is found in the writings of Gideon Haynes, a former warden of Massachusetts State Prison.⁵ Writing in 1869 he asserted that while the contract system then existent at Massachusetts State Prison was not perfect, it approached more nearly an ideal system than that of any other State. He contended that contrary to the beliefs of some, the contract system did not interfere with prison discipline, and did not permit exorbitant profits to accrue to the contractors. Any other system, he argued, "would require a capital of at least eight hundred thousand dollars to be furnished by the state, the creating of an army of officers, agents, salesmen, etc., and the establishment of an uncertain system, which would not relieve but augment many evils from which we suffer at the present time."

Defenses of the contract system during the ensuing nine years were insufficient to silence its opponents. Consequently, the General Court of Massachusetts on April 6, 1878 approved a resolve authorizing the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor to investigate all forms of prison labor in the State for the purpose of recommending any legislation necessary to prevent competition between products of prison labor and products of free labor.⁶

Under this resolve Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Bureau (later Chief of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, and President

² Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1886, p. 385.

³ Philip Klein, *Prison Methods in New York State* (New York, 1920), p. 239.

⁴ Matthew Woll, address delivered as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor at the annual meeting of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, April 12, 1937, Reprinted in the *American Photo Engraver*.

⁵ Gideon Haynes, *Pictures from Prison Life* (Boston, 1869), pp. 223-226.

⁶ Tenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1879, Reprint Edition, p. 3.

of Clark College) caused a vigorous investigation to be made in nineteen other States as well as in Massachusetts to determine whether there was any factual basis for the claims made annually to the Legislature "that convict labor was robbing free laborers of vast sums or of vast advantages."⁷ The Bureau's study revealed the situation to be quite the contrary to these claims. It was found, for example, that in Massachusetts alone during the year, 1879-1880, the number of convicts employed in prison industries constituted about one and one-half percent of the persons engaged on similar work outside.⁸ Systems of convict labor were also examined closely by the Bureau. It found that the contract system, though subject to serious abuses, was of real merit if it were well regulated and if the State retained full control of all matters of discipline. A public account system was suggested by the Bureau as a possible substitute for the much-criticized contract system in Massachusetts. Under this system prisons could produce articles for "the supply of troops or for any other public service." Moreover, while this public account system would cause some manufacturers to lose the opportunity of furnishing supplies to the State, the Bureau pointed out that it would not cause any competition in prices of goods sold in the open market. In addition, the Bureau recommended, as an experiment worth the trial, employment of prisoners on public works.

An English authority, Major E. F. DuCane, Surveyor-General of English Prisons, in 1872 had addressed the International Prison Congress at London to urge the adoption of a State-use plan which included employment of prisoners

on public works. Though the Bureau feared Major DuCane's plan meant further encroachment upon the market for free labor as well as increased opportunities for prisoners to escape, it agreed that public works ought not to be excluded as a possible source of prison labor until it had at least been tried. In short, the evidence gathered by the Bureau in response to legislative order pointed unmistakably to a State-use system of prison labor as the one least likely to cause damaging competition with the products of free labor. Embracing production within prisons of certain State-needed goods and experimentation outside prison walls with employment of prisoners on public works, this system seemed to offer no great obstacles to immediate adoption. Hence, the Bureau recommended in 1879 that "legislation be instituted looking to the production in the prisons of the state of all goods required by them or by any other department of state."⁹ While the Bureau's recommendation was not immediately adopted, it did bring the State-use system into focus and resulted in eight years of intensive investigation by the Massachusetts Legislature before the system was finally enacted into law.

In 1880 a joint legislative committee was empowered to take all available testimony regarding the prison labor problem in Massachusetts. Three years later legislation was enacted which limited the number of prisoners who might be employed in specific industries (e.g., boots and shoes, hats, brushes, wood mouldings) and limited to 150 the number who might be employed in any other industry not specified in the law.¹⁰ In 1887 the legislative committee on prisons reported to the Massachusetts Senate a

⁷ Tenth Annual report, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁸ Labor Bulletin, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, April 1879, p. 15.

⁹ Tenth Annual Report, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁰ Chapter 217, Acts of 1883, General Laws of Massachusetts.

bill which recommended the abolition of the contract system of prison labor. Study by the committee in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania as well as in Massachusetts had, according to the preface to the bill, led inescapably to the conclusion that the contract system could no longer be retained if the best interests of the taxpayer, the manufacturer, and "the honest mechanic" were to be served. The Committee found that this system was "detrimental to discipline and subversive of the principle of reformation"; that it was "a poor investment financially when the expenditures exceed receipts by \$700,000 and the average earnings of the convict is but twenty-two cents per day"; that "it is a constant source of annoyance and absolute injury to the outside manufacturer and the honest mechanic"; that "public opinion is adverse to it"; and that "the other great states have already abolished it, notably California, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and uniformity is desirable."¹¹ It was felt by the Committee that the best interests of the State would be served by the adoption of "the State account system in a modified plan, whereby such goods as are manufactured in our prisons could be used in the different state institutions. . . ."¹²

Therefore, the Committee recommended the employment of convicts in manufacturing, by hand labor, such articles as could be used in the various State institutions. The bill also established the office of general superintendent of prisons and authorized him to establish and supervise convict labor in State and county institutions. Again reporting on this bill to the Senate, the Committee on June 16, 1887 advised: "Your Committee is thoroughly

earnest in their belief that, if rightly administered, the proposed bill will accomplish the long-looked for result of relieving our worthy manufacturers and workingmen from the harassing and ruinous competition with convict labor. It must be borne in mind, however, that the system will be a total failure unless the general superintendent and the officials who are subordinate to him are in practical accord with the intent and purposes of this bill. Upon them will rest the responsibility and if properly exercised the outlay must be small; and to them must the public look if injudicious management wrecks the system."¹³

The bill was referred to the Committee on the Treasury, one of whose members, Senator Phillips, successfully sponsored an amendment forbidding the purchase of new machinery, except that to be propelled by hand or foot.¹⁴ It was passed by the legislature the same year, the law being made effective as of November 1, 1887. Prison-made articles which could not be used by State or county institutions were, according to the law, to be sold upon the public account system at the ruling wholesale market prices.

Such was the beginning of the State-use system of prison labor in Massachusetts, a system which has been retained in principle down to the present time.

During the first ten years of experience with this system the general superintendent of prisons discovered that the law which required public institutions to purchase prison-made goods failed to provide any machinery to accomplish this purpose. General Superintendent of Prisons, Frederick G. Pettigrove, pointed out in his annual report for the year ending September 30, 1897 that this could

¹¹ Massachusetts Legislative Documents, 1887, Senate #226.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Massachusetts Legislative Documents, 1887, Senate #325.

¹⁴ Senate Journal, 1887.

easily be remedied by requiring all public officers to purchase for their institutions whatever articles are made in the prisons. The following year an act was passed which required the principal officer of any public institution of the Commonwealth or of the counties to make requisition for needed articles or materials to the general superintendent of prisons.¹⁵ At Superintendent Pettigrove's behest the scope of this act was broadened in 1900 to include every public institution of any city having a population of 40,000 according to the census of 1895.¹⁶

By the turn of the century the State-use plan dominated prison labor in Massachusetts. Production of cane-seating and umbrellas on the piece-price plan and of brushes and brooms on the public account plan were the only remnants of former systems still extant. The Board of Prison Commissioners in 1901 reported that the State Prison at Charlestown that year sold \$68,219.65 worth of goods to sixty-five public institutions.¹⁷ By 1910 State-use sales from State Prison had increased to \$111,333.13. The Board of Prison Commissioners that year observed that during twenty-four years of operation the State-use plan had supplied the most satisfactory employment for prisoners and had met less opposition from outside labor interests than had any other plan.¹⁸ The Board complained, however, that *city* officials

were singularly absent from annual meetings of public institution heads with the Chairman of the Prison Commissioners for the purpose of determining the styles, designs, qualities, and estimating the quantities of the articles and materials needed for their respective institutions during the following year. *State* and *county* officials, on the other hand, had been most responsive, according to the Board. Two years later, as the result of a legislative investigation,¹⁹ a law was enacted which made mandatory prison production of articles and materials for all public institutions, and offices and departments of the Commonwealth and all departments of the counties, cities and towns which are established, maintained or supported, wholly or in part, by the appropriation of public money. A fine of \$100.00 was the penalty provided for any officer of a town, city or Commonwealth who "wilfully refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this act."²⁰

Immediately following passage of the 1912 law a rapid expansion took place in State-use industries. State Prison sales mounted to \$123,532.21. Chairman Pettigrove of the Prison Commissioners in making his last report as a Board member in 1912 expressed satisfaction with the operation of the State-use system and pointed out that, fortified by the provisions of the 1912 law, this system promised substantial expansion in prison industries for the future. It is a tribute to the foresight and genius of Mr. Pettigrove, who himself wrote and sponsored the amendments to the original State-use act of 1887, that no major change in the law has been necessary since 1912.

¹⁵ Chapter 334, Acts of 1898, General Laws of Massachusetts.

¹⁶ Chapter 269, Acts of 1900, General Laws of Massachusetts.

¹⁷ First Annual Report of the Board of Prison Commissioners, Massachusetts, 1901. These goods included blankets, shoes, brooms, brushes, clothing, cotton cloth, furniture, harness, hosiery, mats and rugs, mattresses, pillows, shirts, woolen cloth and yarn.

¹⁸ Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Prison Commissioners, Massachusetts, 1910, p. 166.

¹⁹ Resolves of 1911, Chapter 143, General Laws of Massachusetts.

²⁰ Acts of 1912, Chapter 565, General Laws of Massachusetts.

The work of Mr. Pettigrove's successors was, therefore, aimed at installing prison industries at which a prisoner could work with advantage upon release, reducing to a minimum the sales of prison-made goods on the open market, and providing wages for prisoners from a fund which contained the accumulated receipts from the sales of goods. Commissioner of Correction, Sanford Bates, in 1920 reported: "although the first aim of the prison industries is to assist in the reformation of prison inmates . . . at the same time it is gratifying to record . . . a considerable increase in the profits of the prison industries."²¹ State Prison that year reported increased sales to institutions amounting to \$411,676.26 and sales in the open market amounting to \$296,532.25. In 1926 Commissioner Bates cited as advantages of the State-use system in Massachusetts the diversification of industries and of trade-training opportunities for prisoners, the distribution of the burden of competition more evenly over the community, and the turning over of profits from prison industry to the State treasury for the purpose of reducing the state tax. "It is gratifying to know," said Commissioner Bates, "that Massachusetts has been recognized generally as having the best system of prison labor in the country."²² The proportion of State-use output to output for nonstate uses was estimated by the Commissioner to be about 80 percent. This proportion had increased slightly to about 82 percent by 1930.²³ Meanwhile, in 1928 at the direction of Commissioner Bates, the Mas-

sachusetts Legislature had passed an enabling act establishing a system of wage payments to prisoners.²⁴

Since 1930 two pieces of Federal legislation have practically eliminated the sale of prison-made goods in the open market.²⁵ The first of these, the Hawes-Cooper Act of 1929, which became effective in 1934, divests prison-made goods of their interstate character upon arrival in the State of their destination, so that their sale may be regulated without interfering with interstate commerce. Massachusetts, on January 20, 1934, began regulation of the sale within its boundaries of commodities made in the prisons of other States by providing a penalty of not more than \$100.00 fine for offering such commodities for sale.²⁶ The other piece of Federal legislation, the Sumner-Ashurst Act of

²⁴ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction, Massachusetts, 1928, p. 4. See also General Laws of Massachusetts, Tercentenary Edition, 1932, Chapter 127, Section 48-a. This act, which is still in effect, provides that the State shall first take for itself 25 per cent of the cost of the goods sold, and that the surplus profit over that amount in the prison, and over 15 per cent in the reformatories (the reformatories have not yet adopted wage payments), may be divided equally between the State and the inmates; inmates having dependents may send periodically one-half their earnings to these dependents, may spend one-quarter of their earnings, and the balance shall accumulate to be paid to them upon their release.

²⁵ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction of Massachusetts for the year ending December 31, 1937 shows sales on the open market were only 1 per cent of those to public institutions. However, these open market sales actually involve sales of prison-made articles at retail prices to individual buyers who must purchase the articles for cash on the premises of the penal institution where they are made. The Department of Correction does not advertise or solicit this business; rather it discourages it as much as possible, even though such business is legally permissible. Goods purchased in this manner are not allowed to be resold.

²⁶ Acts of 1932, Chapter 252, General Laws of Massachusetts.

²¹ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction, Massachusetts, 1920, p. 13.

²² Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction, Massachusetts, 1926, p. 5.

²³ Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1930, p. 130.

1935, requires that prison-made products transported in interstate commerce be labelled to indicate that they were made in prison. The total effect of these measures has been a restricted market for the products of prison labor, and increased idleness in prisons. For example, the average daily population of four prisons²⁷ in Massachusetts during the year ending November 30, 1937 totalled 3,057 inmates while an average of only 1,472, or 48 percent, were employed in prison industries.²⁸ This does not necessarily mean that the remaining 52 percent of the prisoners were entirely idle during the year, but it does indicate the magnitude of the task now facing prison administrators in Massachusetts and other States where "busy work" must be found to keep more than one-half of the prison population occupied.

In conclusion, it seems evident that an exclusive State-use system of prison labor, however superior to other systems, no longer keeps all prisoners employed or competing outside manufacturers satisfied. Shoe manufacturers are in favor of it as long as prison labor is not used to produce shoes for State use. Furniture manufacturers are heartily in favor of it as long as prison labor is not used to manufacture furniture for State use. And so on for each industry in which prisons engage. A prisoner may work, say the manufacturers, so long as he doesn't work at a

particular trade which competes with their industries. Obviously, it is difficult in the face of such opposition to attack the problem of idleness by promoting a plan of expansion of prison industries. A possible alternative, as offered by Sutherland, is to expand State-use to include a public account system, so that if the State becomes unable because of the opposition of free industries to sell its products to the public institutions, it can then sell the surplus on the open market. The threat of serious competition, Sutherland contends, would tend to discourage private industries from unfair practices in preventing the sale of prison-made goods to public institutions.²⁹ It is noteworthy that European prisons encounter very little idleness, a condition apparently explainable on the grounds that business men there offer almost no opposition to the use of prison labor for the manufacture of articles for State use. Unless the problem of prison labor is soon given serious consideration—and the Prisons Industries Reorganization Administration in Washington appears to be a desirable first-step in that direction—some states may be faced with the complete elimination of their prison industries. Hence, the future in prison industry may see the swing from an exclusive state-use system to a more flexible scheme combining with State-use the public-account and public works systems in order that all able prisoners may be employed to advantage.

²⁷ State Prison, State Prison Colony, Massachusetts Reformatory, Reformatory for Women.

²⁸ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction, Massachusetts, 1937, pp. 70 and 181.

²⁹ E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, Third Edition (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 476.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

COMMUNITY CONTACTS OF 9,122 TEACHERS

LLOYD A. COOK AND FLORENCE GREENHOE

Ohio State University

A YEAR or so ago we reported preliminary studies of teacher and community relations,¹ and since then a national sample of 9,122 cases has been collected. The present paper is a final summary of findings.² It will be limited in the main to factual data, leaving detailed analysis and interpretation to monographic publication.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

Our aim was to secure a representative sample of the Nation's public school teachers, involving about 10,000 cases. By use of the Federal biennial survey of education, we estimated State quotas on the bases of number, grade, sex, age, and income. Questionnaires were sent or placed in selected schools and in teacher training institutions for class use. Of the 18,859 blanks so distributed, 9,122 were returned in time and in shape for use, giving a response ratio of over 48 percent. Names were not requested

or accepted, and where answers were in doubt the blanks were discarded.

While questionnaires were received from every State, including the District of Columbia, it was impossible to hold rigorously to the quota plan. In terms of Howard W. Odum's "group of states" regions, the Middle States—especially Ohio—were overrepresented, and the Southwestern States underrepresented. Among nonteaching groups used for comparable purposes, lay persons and schoolboard members were almost wholly Ohio small-town residents, and students in training to be teachers were largely from Middle and Northeastern states.

In brief analysis, two-thirds of the 9,122 teachers were in the grades and one-third in high schools. About 29 percent were men and 71 percent women. Less than one-fifth were under 25 years of age, one-half 25 to 34, and one-fifth 35 to 44. One-fourth had taught less than 5 years, one-half less than 10, and one-third 10 to 20. Over one-fourth reported salaries under \$1000 per year, one-half under \$1249, one-third between \$1250 and \$1999, with 11 percent earning \$2000 or more.³ About 38 percent had fathers whose occupation most of life was farming, 26.1 percent had fathers in business, 18 percent

¹ For example, "Teacher and Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, III (April, 1938), 167-174; "Community Participation of 2,870 Ohio Teachers," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXV (February, 1939), 107-119.

² For statistical work, we are indebted to the Ohio State University Bureau of Business Research, especially to Dr. Viva Booth and Mr. Lester B. Kellogg, and for a grant in aid to the late George F. Arps, dean of the Graduate School.

³ Chiefly administrators, and not separately classified because almost all of them are also teachers.

in day labor, and 4 percent in professions. Over 45 percent said that neither parent had gone to high school, with only 17 percent of the fathers and 14 percent of the mothers attending college. Three-fourths of the sample came from homes where one or more members had been, or were, teachers.

Aside from regional skewness as already mentioned, the sample compares favorably with national norms. While variations in the above averages by grade, sex, age, etc., were pronounced, space precludes a discussion of their nature. Since community backgrounds are very relevant to

PHYSICAL MOBILITY

While it is known that teachers change jobs with some frequency,⁴ we do not know how often they move, for what reasons, and how far. Brief reference to our data oversimplifies the problem, yet little more than this can be attempted.

Using change of teaching location as an index, it was found that half the sample had shifted positions from one to three times, and one-tenth had moved four or five times. Two-fifths said the major reason for moving was to better salary, one-fourth to be in a more progressive school, and 14 percent to be nearer home.

TABLE I
PLACE WHERE 9,122 TEACHERS SPENT MOST OF LIFE AND PLACE WHERE NOW TEACHING BY PLACE WHERE BORN: PERCENT RESPONSE

WHERE BORN	TOTAL	WHERE SPENT MOST OF LIFE						WHERE NOW TEACHING					
		I*	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I. Under 2,500.....	51.4	89.5	30.6	29.4	23.1	21.0	29.3	70.1	43.0	45.9	36.7	32.5	23.4
II. 2,500-9,999.....	12.7	3.1	57.0	8.1	7.8	8.0	7.2	9.5	26.5	12.9	12.6	10.7	7.5
III. 10,000-49,999.....	13.5	3.0	4.7	52.4	10.0	6.6	6.3	7.2	12.1	25.2	12.4	9.9	8.1
IV. 50,000-99,999.....	3.8	0.6	1.2	1.7	48.7	2.8	1.8	1.4	3.7	2.5	26.1	1.8	1.4
V. 100,000 and over.....	9.8	2.0	3.0	6.0	7.6	59.6	5.7	5.2	8.1	7.5	6.6	39.6	6.2
VI. No response.....	8.8	2.0	3.5	2.4	2.8	2.0	49.7	6.6	5.8	6.0	5.5	5.5	53.4

* Numerals refer to size of communities as indicated in table stub.

our findings, we shall present these data in tabular form. Table I is read as follows: 51.4 percent of the 9,122 teachers studied were born in places of less than 2,500 population. Again, 89.5 percent of those who have spent most of their life in areas of this size, and 70.1 percent of those now teaching in such places, were born in communities of this same size. Perhaps the two most important facts revealed in the table are that teachers, on the whole, are of small-town birth and backgrounds, and they tend to live and teach in communities of much the same size as those in which they were born and reared.

High school teachers moved to better salary more frequently than those in the grades, men more than women, and those at top salary levels more than those at opposite extremes. Only 7 percent reported changes in location as due primarily to friction with school officials, restrictions on nonschool life, or interference with classroom work.

As an index of distances traveled, we asked for mileages from and to successive

⁴ It should be said that teacher tenure is increasing. From 1900 to 1930, it averaged no more than 4 years; at present it is estimated at 10 years and may be as high as 12 years.

points, as illustrated in Table 2. This table shows that 9.5 percent of the teachers studied reported a travel distance of less than 10 miles from place of last grade education to place of last college training. Again, well over half the persons reporting started teaching within 50 miles of the place where they finished grade school education.

By taking a 50 mile radius, and eliminating teachers who failed to answer the question, we can include from over a fourth to more than a half of all moves listed. What this means is that teachers,

SOCIAL FITNESS FOR TEACHING

The literature of educational sociology contains many references to persons who are barred, more or less, from public school teaching,⁵ but we can find no comprehensive, quantitative study of this problem. Our procedure was to select a wide range of potential teacher-applicant types, submit them to schoolboard members and others for rating, and then to construct a final list of possible applicants for teaching positions. Raters were asked to assume that each of these "applicants" was properly qualified and certified, and

TABLE 2

DISTANCES TRAVELED BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE POINTS OF REFERENCE BY 9,122 TEACHERS: PERCENT RESPONSE

DISTANCES IN MILES	LAST GRADE TO LAST COLLEGE	LAST GRADE TO FIRST TEACHING	LAST COLLEGE TO FIRST TEACHING	FIRST TEACHING TO SECOND TEACHING	FIRST TEACHING TO THIRD TEACHING
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0- 9.9	9.5	25.3	5.8	16.8	10.1
10- 24.9	7.9	12.5	7.6	14.5	10.3
25- 49.9	10.8	7.6	11.3	9.8	8.0
50- 99.9	17.7	8.3	18.1	11.3	9.0
100-199.9	18.3	9.4	19.2	13.1	11.1
200-499.9	13.2	8.4	13.1	10.8	10.1
500 and over	10.9	4.1	8.9	4.9	6.0
No response	11.7	24.4	16.0	18.8	35.4

while they move often, do not tend to move far; nor have they traveled far to any point of reference with the possible exception of college. Moreover, as our case materials show, not many of these changes are the kind that bring new mental stimulation. In the main, they are moves within identical experience-worlds, such as from village to village within the same subregion. Thus the principle most descriptive of teacher mobility is that of "limited circulation," and implications for teacher personality, the school and the community are clearly apparent.

to indicate whether or not this individual "should be employed to teach in the public schools of your community."

Major findings are presented in the form of an hypothetical employability quotient. This index is found by subtracting a rating group's percentage "yes" response on each item from its percentage "no" response, or vice versa, and giving the results a plus or minus value. Uncer-

⁵ See Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York, 1932); Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York, 1936); H. B. Alberty, and B. H. Bode, *Educational Freedom and Democracy* (New York, 1938), pp. 50-91.

tainty responses are ignored, since they vary uniformly with yes and no scores, and "no response" totals—seldom over 2 percent of the entire vote—are not counted. This method is open to criticism, yet its principal findings are much the same as those obtained by more refined treatment.

In Table 3, rating group reactions have been arrayed from highest positive score to lowest negative score, with school-board totals as a base.⁶ Prestige and

than communists. Item analysis shows striking—often curious—differences within and between rating groups, though we shall pass over these in favor of more general findings.

Presumably we are dealing here with attitudes which can be expressed on a continuum. A simple method of determining liberalism-conservatism is to assign values from 1 to 4 to the rank order position of respective rating groups on each of the fifteen items, giving the value

TABLE 3
EMPLOYABILITY QUOTIENT OF POTENTIAL APPLICANTS FOR TEACHING POSITIONS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS:
PERCENT RESPONSE

APPLICANT	AS RATED BY			
	356 Board Members	1,095 Lay Persons	9,122 Teachers	3,054 Students
1. A known Protestant.....	76.5	84.9	93.5	93.5
2. Native-born, foreign name.....	56.3	73.2	88.5	89.9
3. Nonlocal resident.....	48.3	46.0	78.4	89.1
4. City-reared person.....	45.8	66.6	85.4	90.8
5. Out-of-state resident.....	15.4	27.5	69.4	64.9
6. A known Catholic.....	-21.3	9.5	53.1	68.0
7. A known pacifist.....	-22.8	5.3	29.7	40.4
8. A married woman.....	-32.1	-12.0	36.5	12.4
9. A known Jew.....	-41.3	2.3	44.8	41.5
10. A known militarist.....	-62.0	-50.1	-42.1	-25.0
11. A light Negro.....	-82.1	-54.2	-54.7	-33.6
12. A dark Negro.....	-85.7	-66.0	-63.4	-49.4
13. A known radical.....	-88.0	-72.5	-63.6	-48.2
14. Person in bad health.....	-93.3	-87.9	-54.7	-89.6
15. A known communist.....	-94.1	-83.2	-77.5	-57.9

prejudice are clearly evident in these definitions of "social fitness" for teaching. For example, other things at all equal, a white Protestant applicant is outstanding in his chances for job placement. Pacifists fare much better than militarists, though board members disapprove of both, light Negroes better than dark, Jews better

of 1 to first position (highest positive score), 2 to the next position, etc. Using this procedure, the final composite score was: students, 19; teachers, 27; lay community representatives, 44; and board members, 59. Students were outstanding in their liberalism, teachers a close second, lay persons third, and schoolboard officials a distant last.

Variations within rating groups were numerous. For instance, among lay persons men were slightly more liberal than women, professional workers twice as

⁶ Inadequacy of the schoolboard sample is recognized and a supplementary survey is underway. Apparently board members reacted to these issues in their official, not personal, capacity, hence as individuals they are not as conservative as pictured.

liberal as farmers, and those who had attended college much more liberal than those who had not. Among teachers, no significant differences were found by age and sex. High school teachers were more liberal than those in the grades,⁷ teachers in larger communities more liberal than those in smaller places. Among students, there was a fairly uniform increase in liberalism with class level from freshmen to juniors, seniors, and graduates.

cate the nature of their participation by checking under the categories seen in the heading of Table 4, and to write in any activity omitted from the list. While this table is based on Ohio data, its trends are typical of teachers in the larger sample.

Table 4 shows that 95 percent of the teachers were members of one or more community groups or activities, exclusive of purely school clubs and affairs, with the modal number at five. Four-fifths gave money to one or more of these

TABLE 4
PARTICIPATION OF 2,870 OHIO TEACHERS IN COMMUNITY GROUPS AND ACTIVITIES:
PERCENT RESPONSE

NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES	REGULAR MEMBER			PAY DUES OR GIVE MONEY			ATTEND MEETINGS			OFFICER OR SPONSOR		
	M*	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
None.....	5.6	4.5	4.8	23.1	18.8	20.1	24.7	21.9	22.7	51.6	61.2	58.2
One.....	5.0	4.6	4.7	11.0	10.6	10.7	10.8	9.1	9.7	18.2	18.4	18.4
Two.....	10.5	7.3	8.3	12.0	10.5	11.0	16.8	12.7	13.9	12.3	10.3	10.9
Three.....	14.4	11.2	12.2	15.9	13.3	14.1	16.7	16.9	16.9	8.9	5.6	6.6
Four.....	14.8	14.3	14.4	13.5	14.4	14.1	12.6	14.8	14.1	5.0	2.3	3.1
Five.....	14.9	16.4	16.0	9.1	11.9	11.0	8.6	11.9	10.9	1.7	1.3	1.4
Six.....	12.7	12.2	12.4	6.9	8.0	7.7	4.9	6.7	6.1	1.4	0.6	0.8
Seven.....	8.0	10.5	9.7	3.9	5.0	4.6	3.0	3.4	3.2	0.9	0.3	0.5
Eight.....	5.3	7.5	6.9	2.8	3.6	3.3	1.0	1.5	1.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nine.....	3.6	5.0	4.6	1.0	2.0	1.7	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ten†.....	2.3	2.3	2.3	0.1	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0

* M, male; F, female; All, both sexes.

† About 3 per cent engaged in 10 to 19 activities.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION

To study teacher participation in community life, we abstracted the most frequently appearing groups and activities from an extensive collection of life histories and built a check list of some fifty items.⁸ Teachers were instructed to indi-

enterprises, about the same proportion attended meetings, and 41.8 percent were officers or sponsors in these associations. With one exception, the modal number of activities in each area of participation ranged from three to four, with men averaging higher ratios than women up to four or five groups. Here women took the lead in all types of participation save that of officer or sponsor. If community leadership is indicated by the number of groups in which office is held, men make a better showing than women, yet only a

⁷ In agreement with other studies, including George W. Hartmann, "A Critical Appraisal of Teachers' Social Attitudes and Information," *Harvard Educational Review*, IX (May, 1939), 296-306.

⁸ For sample teacher life history, see Lloyd A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education* (New York, 1938), pp. 296-300.

tenth of them are officers in three or more organizations.

To suggest the character of these groups and activities, we have classified the fifty-odd specific enterprises into ten general types. The chief content (groups, causes, etc., included) of the five types showing greatest teacher participation is: *religious*, church, Sunday school, Bible study, church youth groups, and mission societies; *professional*, alumni, P.T.A., mothers' clubs, child study groups, adult education classes, and A.A.U.P.; *relief* and

bodies, and that two-thirds contributed money to this work. Judging from the table, it is here, and perhaps only here, that teachers show a substantial local leadership in so far as office holding is an index.

Types are subjective concepts, depending on a number of variables, and hence we can objectify this work somewhat by indicating the leading specific groups and movements in which teachers took an active part. Data in Table 6 are based on the national sample.

TABLE 5
MAJOR TYPES OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN WHICH 2,870 OHIO TEACHERS PARTICIPATE:
PERCENT RESPONSE

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES	REGULAR MEMBER			PAY DUES OR MONEY			OFFICER, SPONSOR		
	M*	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
1. Religious.....	80.0	85.1	83.6	57.3	64.0	61.9	27.8	20.1	22.5
2. Professional.....	66.5	79.2	75.3	45.3	51.2	49.4	15.7	12.7	13.6
3. Relief, welfare.....	42.2	50.9	48.2	30.3	39.8	36.9	2.0	1.9	1.9
4. Leisure pursuits.....	28.6	45.4	40.2	13.3	22.7	19.8	6.7	7.2	7.0
5. Civic groups.....	24.9	28.9	27.7	17.2	22.1	20.6	5.1	3.6	4.0
6. Fraternal orders.....	43.3	20.6	27.6	34.9	16.2	21.9	8.5	4.3	5.6
7. Youth groups.....	45.7	8.1	19.6	7.4	5.3	6.0	13.6	8.0	9.8
8. Political groups.....	18.3	9.3	12.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	0.2	0.1	0.1
9. Patriotic societies.....	6.6	2.6	3.8	5.0	2.5	3.3	1.1	0.6	0.8
10. Economic interests.....	5.3	2.7	3.5	3.3	1.7	2.2	0.2	0.2	0.2

* M, male; F, female; All, both sexes.

welfare, Red Cross, community chest, child welfare, Women's Benefit, and other charities; *leisure pursuits*, social groups, bridge clubs, book review, hobby clubs, dramatics, literary, musicals, and country club; and *civic associations*, service clubs, Farm Bureau, Grange, citizen clubs, entertainment and holiday programs.

Without doubt the two types of community activities making the greatest claim on teacher time and energy are religious and professional. Table 5 shows, for example, that over four-fifths of the teachers studied were regular members of the church and subsidiary

Over two-thirds of the 9,122 teachers reported regular membership in the church and about one-half in parent-teacher associations. Furthermore, inspection of Table 6 will show that, with one exception, high school teachers have higher membership, money-giving and office-holding ratios than do grade teachers, a finding which confirms a widely held impression of the part played by teachers in local community life. In membership and contributions, sex differences are about as expected, but in office holding male teachers show a consistent superiority. Although not indicated in the

table, participation varies by community size. In general, the smaller the area, the more its teachers engaged in the kinds of activities studied.

Attention may be called to another type of community participation. For example, about one-third of the 9,122 teachers said they visited no pupil homes, two-fifths 1 to 4 homes per average month, one-fifth 5 to 14, and 4 percent 15 homes or more. About 43 percent spoke at local meetings on educational problems "at times," 3.5 percent "often," and 1 percent "regularly." One-fourth wrote school news

to "pressures" placed on them to participate in community clubs, causes, and activities. Of the 2,870 Ohio teachers canvassed on this point, 24.9 percent listed such controls over their out-of-school life. This percentage varied little for rural and urban areas, for sex or income, but age and grade appeared to be significant differentials. Younger teachers, especially those under 25 years of age, reported pressures with greater frequency than those over 45, and high school teachers with greater frequency than those in the grades. We did not attempt

TABLE 6
SPECIFIC COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN WHICH 9,122 TEACHERS SHOW GREATEST PARTICIPATION:
PERCENT RESPONSE

SPECIFIC ACTIVITY	REGULAR MEMBER				PAY DUES OR GIVE MONEY				OFFICER—SPONSOR			
	Grade		Sex		Grade		Sex		Grade		Sex	
	Elem.	H. S.	M	F	Elem.	H. S.	M	F	Elem.	H. S.	M	F
1. Church.....	62.1	75.1	74.0	68.2	38.1	56.6	44.9	50.0	10.6	11.4	16.4	5.5
2. P. T. A.....	48.9	52.1	49.7	51.3	33.3	35.5	32.6	36.2	8.2	7.4	9.4	6.2
3. Sunday School.....	33.6	38.8	41.4	30.9	22.0	26.8	27.9	20.9	11.2	14.7	15.7	10.2
4. Red Cross.....	33.5	40.2	37.5	36.2	25.7	33.5	29.6	29.6	1.2	1.4	1.7	0.9
5. Alumni Assn.....	26.3	35.8	33.2	29.0	14.7	25.5	19.0	20.6	2.7	4.2	3.9	3.5
6. Lodge.....	19.6	30.6	33.8	10.4	14.9	24.3	26.3	12.9	3.9	6.2	6.9	3.2
7. Church Youth.....	12.3	9.8	11.9	10.2	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.2	4.5	4.0	4.8	3.7
8. Social club.....	11.0	16.0	12.8	13.6	4.9	9.2	7.2	6.9	2.3	2.9	2.8	2.4
9. Bridge club.....	8.4	18.9	6.9	20.4	1.9	2.6	1.5	2.9	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5
10. Y. M. C. A.—Y. W. C. A..	7.1	12.0	9.0	10.1	5.8	9.7	7.2	8.8	1.0	1.7	1.8	0.9

for the local paper "sometimes," 4 percent "often," and 4.4 percent "regularly." Data were collected in a supplementary survey on participation in home talent plays, etc., on teaching a Sunday school class, taking pupils on field trips, arranging exhibits of school work, making community surveys, uses of radio and the like, but since our categories ("at times," "often," etc.) were not very meaningful we shall pass on to another topic.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY PRESSURES

In interviews and in life history materials, teachers make frequent references

to find the sources of these pressures, and this problem has been made the basis of a follow-up study.

CONDUCT CODES

The most interesting phase of our work is probably the inquiry into community conduct codes for teachers. After an exploratory survey of 622 teachers in three states, we selected for final study the forms of behavior seen in Table 7. These were chosen because of their wide prevalence, and because they were matters of community concern and, at times, of serious teacher maladjustment. Rating groups

were asked to express reactions in terms of six categories of answers: strong and mild approval, indifference, mild and strong disapproval, and discharge teacher.

Since percentage replies are too complex for brief summary, we shall indicate trends by means of net reaction scores.

Table 7 reveals a number of significant differences in the reactions of rating groups to the behaviors of male and female teachers. "Owning an automobile" is most strongly approved by all groups, whereas, at the opposite extreme, "dating a student" is most strongly opposed by

TABLE 7
NET REACTION SCORES OF THREE RATING GROUPS TO SELECTED ASPECTS OF TEACHER BEHAVIOR

TEACHER BEHAVIOR	356 SCHED. MEMBERS		9,112 TEACHERS		3,054 STUDENTS	
	M*	F	M	F	M	F
1. Owning an automobile.....	61.3	60.0	64.4	59.6	81.0	79.3
2. Dating a town person.....	31.7	28.9	49.7	46.5	65.8	64.2
3. Dating another teacher.....	19.6	19.5	35.2	40.5	67.3	66.7
4. Leaving area over week-ends**	0.8	0.9	9.9	5.5	5.8	-6.7
5. Pay for coaching, speaking, etc.....	-2.8	-3.1	30.4	29.0	23.3	21.8
6. Single teachers living in apt.....	-6.2	-11.2	24.6	24.5	36.4	29.7
7. Buying clothes, etc. out of area.....	-8.5	19.4	-4.3	-4.0	-1.6	-1.5
8. Smoking in private.....	-9.8	-46.2	11.5	11.2	35.0	1.4
9. Not attending church.....	-9.9	-69.0	-54.8	-54.5	-61.6	-62.2
10. Playing cards for money.....	-18.2	-56.6	-69.2	-70.0	-72.3	-77.6
11. Joining American Teachers Union.....	-22.5	-23.1	9.1	8.5	22.2	22.4
12. Dancing at public dance.....	-23.9	-26.4	5.7	4.2	25.7	19.0
13. Playing pool or billiards.....	-25.0	-38.2	-8.0	-17.8	-3.6	-47.2
14. Living outside community.....	-27.2	-29.7	-11.7	-10.8	-37.4	-39.1
15. Teaching controversial issues.....	-34.9	-36.7	-1.2	-1.4	34.2	32.9
16. Smoking in public.....	-48.1	-80.7	-25.2	-61.9	-16.1	-66.7
17. Playing cards for fun.....	-48.1	16.9	54.3	54.5	66.8	76.1
18. Making a political speech.....	-55.7	-55.9	-34.9	-40.5	-53.7	-60.3
19. Running for political office.....	-56.1	-56.4	-33.4	-34.2	-58.4	-57.7
20. Drinking alcoholic liquors.....	-80.1	-81.3	-71.8	-73.2	-76.5	-76.7
21. Dating a student.....	-86.0	-85.7	-84.4	-86.4	-68.8	-74.0
22. Use of rouge, lipstick, etc.....		0.4		45.5		65.3
23. Woman teaching after marriage†		-43.2		-1.5		-24.5

* M, male (teacher); F, female (teacher).

** Item reads "leaving community often over week-ends."

† Item reads "a woman who continues to teach after marriage."

These scores were found by subtracting a rating group's percentage disapproval response from its approval response, or vice versa, on each item, and giving the results a plus or minus value to denote the quality of the reaction. Table 7 shows these scores for three groups of raters.⁹

⁹ Lay persons omitted because of space considerations.

schoolboard members and teachers but not by students. Joining the American Teachers' Union has been hotly argued in many communities, and it is interesting to note that board members oppose it by about the same strength with which students favor it. Here, as in other cases such as Items 15 and 23, teachers appear to be either evenly divided in opinion or

fairly indifferent to the issue.¹⁰ "Smoking in private" and "smoking in public" bring to light a curious, but typical, situation. Board members oppose the practice in both male and female teachers, while teachers and students approve smoking in private for men and women but disapprove smoking in public for both sexes. This suggests, of course, a characteristic pattern of teacher adjustment to community taboos. Teachers smoke, if at all, behind locked doors and drawn shades, or out of town, or furtively on the

weighted against women. Conduct approved in males is less approved in females, and conduct opposed in men is more vigorously opposed in women. This is, of course, our conventional sex ideology, and it is well known that teachers become carriers of these mores. The one novel element, perhaps, is that students, who are daily exposed both to a philosophy of sex equality and to the role of reason in social relations, should accept none the less the conventional "double standard" of American life.

TABLE 8
REACTION PATTERNS OF 9,122 TEACHERS TO COMMUNITY CONTROL OF THEIR NONSCHOOL CONDUCT BY GRADE AND SEX

GRADE AND SEX	NUMBER OF TEACHERS	PER CENT REPORTING REACTIONS OF						NO REPLY
		Accept	Rebel	Protest	Evade	Educate*	Other	
Elementary.....	6,062	49.2	10.4	0.9	3.8	15.9	4.0	15.7
Male.....	946	41.5	9.5	0.6	5.6	26.0	4.1	12.6
Female.....	5,116	50.5	10.5	0.9	3.5	14.1	4.2	16.3
Secondary.....	2,422	46.9	11.3	1.2	3.8	17.5	5.6	13.8
Male.....	1,335	42.4	9.8	1.0	4.7	20.9	5.4	14.5
Female.....	1,087	51.8	12.9	1.5	2.6	12.0	6.1	13.1
No Reply.....	638	40.6	8.3	0.8	3.4	25.0	4.7	17.2

* Reads: "educate community to greater tolerance of teacher behavior."

way to and from school, and many truly believe it to be "conduct unbecoming a teacher."

If an indifferent area be defined as comprising all scores within ten points of zero, it will be seen that each rating group has from three to six items on which it shows no strong positive or negative reaction. In general, however, responses are not indifferent; they are, on the contrary, clear and decisive. There are few instances in which the sex of the teacher is immaterial, and, as an almost invariable rule, the scales are heavily

¹⁰ While low scores may be due in theory to either condition, they represent as a rule a neutral or indifferent attitude, not a fairly even balancing of pro and con convictions.

Table 7 also shows that men tend to tolerate conduct in other men which they resent in women, and women condemn other women for behavior which they approve in men. Disapproval reactions decrease with community size, suggesting that small towns and great cities still form strikingly different moral worlds. It should be said, too, that the trend of scores is the same as for Table 3, except that teachers are more liberal on several items than are students, with both reacting in light of self-interests. Finally, the social distance between young people and board members, who will pass judgment on their "fitness" for teaching, is great enough to be a matter of some concern.

Knowing something of schoolboard and community expectation, young people may find other professions more to their liking.

Asked to inspect the above data, one school superintendent remarked that "it might all be true but that teachers weren't doing anything about it." Just what teachers say they are doing is seen in Table 8. The most significant fact is the high percentage of teachers who frankly

report an acceptance of community control over their out-of-school conduct. Elementary teachers are more inclined to accept such regulation than high school teachers, women more than men. Knowing what this often means in concrete reality, one may hazard the view that no other basic profession, except the ministry, is so beholden to traditional conceptions of role and function as are the Nation's teachers.

PUBLIC HOUSING FROM A COMMUNITY POINT OF VIEW*

ALONZO G. MORON

Housing Authority of the City of Atlanta, Georgia

FROM the point of view of the community, the need for a public housing program in this country today arises from certain conditions existing in our national life as a result of our historical development, our population growth, and principally our failure to plan our communities. How one community recognized these conditions and set about solving the problems they present is illustrated by the history of public housing in Atlanta from 1934 to the present. Like most American cities of our time, Atlanta has its share of substandard housing occupied by people of low incomes. Even before the Real Property Inventory of Atlanta was made in 1934, outstanding citizens were quietly planning to improve the bad housing conditions that were brought to light in this survey. When public money became available in 1933 to assist local quasi-public corporations in the clearing of slums and the construction of low rent

housing projects, Atlanta was ready with plans for a large project to take care of white families then in need of better housing. In 1934, when the Federal Government, acting through the newly created Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, found it more expedient to abandon the policy of lending money to locally controlled corporations and to adopt the policy of outright Federal construction, the project originally proposed by the local group was taken over by the Housing Division and carried through to completion as a Federal project.

Prior to taking over the projected plan, the representatives of the Housing Division discovered that the site to be cleared was occupied by Negro families who would be displaced by this project which had been proposed for white occupancy. The Housing Division took the position that before such a project could be approved, acceptable arrangements, preferably a second project, would have to be made by the local community to take care of the Negro families to be displaced.

* Read before Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940.

This stipulation eventually procured for Atlanta two projects instead of one, the Techwood Homes for 604 white families and the University Homes for 675 Negro families.

To assist the Housing Division in solving the local problem of site selection, relocation of site occupants, the type and number of units to be provided, and the kind of community facilities to be included in the project, the Administrator of the Public Works Administration appointed an advisory committee for each project. These committees remained active throughout the construction period and the first year of the operation of the project. While their functions were purely advisory and not administrative, they were largely responsible for the fact that these first two projects were accepted by the community at large and local public opinion was conditioned to receive the larger program of public housing which is being carried out in Atlanta today.

The United States Housing Act of 1937 modified the national policy on public housing by requiring that communities, through local housing authorities, take the initiative in planning, construction, and management of all public housing projects. Where, in the past, the Federal Government had planned, built, and managed the project, the Federal Government, represented by the newly created United States Housing Authority, would only lend to local housing authorities up to ninety percent of the cost of the new projects and act in an advisory capacity to the local housing authorities in the planning, construction, and management of public housing projects built in the future. The Housing Act of 1937 also transferred the Federal projects from the Public Works Administration to the United States Housing Authority and it

provided further that these projects must be sold or leased to the local housing authorities as soon as possible.

On June 10, 1938, the Housing Authority of the City of Atlanta was organized and there was immediately begun the expansion of Atlanta's housing program under the provisions of the new act. This program calls for the immediate construction of six additional projects in six slum areas. Four of these new projects will house approximately twenty-three hundred Negro families. The other two will care for approximately thirteen hundred white families. On March 1, 1940, the two Federal projects in Atlanta were leased to the Housing Authority of the City of Atlanta.

EFFECTS OF THE HOUSING PROGRAM FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE COMMUNITY

What will be some of the effects on this community of such a fairly large program of new public housing?

I

The first and most obvious is the replacement of areas of slums in the heart of the city with more healthful and attractive neighborhoods. Information on the social and economic conditions of the University Homes site before the project was built is available in the 1934 Real Property Inventory of Atlanta and in a study made in 1934 by the Sociology Department of Atlanta University. A comparison of certain factors in the before and after conditions can therefore be made with some degree of accuracy.

A. From the Real Property Inventory taken in Atlanta in 1934 we quote the following description of the project site before University Homes was built: "1. There were 177 structures containing 294 dwelling units and a population of 336

families or 1,174 persons, an average of 3.94 persons per unit or 1.37 persons per room. Evidences of overcrowding are found in the fact that there were 1.3 family units to each occupied dwelling, and an average of 1.37 persons to each room. 2. 141 or 80 percent of the structures in this area were in need of major repairs or unfit for occupancy. 3. 64 or 20 percent of all rental units had no running water. 4. There were only 42 bathtubs and 102 indoor water closets available for the 336 family units living in the area. 5. Fifty houses had no electric lights. 6. At the time of purchase by the Federal Government, unpaid taxes—city and county—amounted to \$7,005.16."

Today the same area accommodates 44 modern fire proof buildings containing 675 two, three, four, and five room apartments and row houses. Each has a tiled bathroom with hot and cold running water, tub, washbowl, and toilet. There is an electric refrigerator and electric stove in each kitchen and steam for the entire project is furnished by a central heating plant. Twenty-five percent of the land is covered by buildings and the remaining 75 percent is used for paved streets, walkways, playgrounds, lawns and shrubbery beds.

B. The old community, known familiarly as "Beaver Slide," had acquired a reputation for crime, vice, and family disorganization. Today the tenants at University Homes take pride in their community and, in addition to a high regard for the day-to-day appearance of the grounds, over a hundred families planted flower gardens last year and eighty-three competed for a prize offered by the management for the best-looking garden of the year. In the three years since University Homes has been occupied, the tenants can point with pride to

other evidences of community organization: a Tenants' Association that meets monthly to discuss tenant welfare and plan community activities; a Library that started two years ago as a tenant activity, and which has now been taken over by the City Library System as a branch of the colored branch; a project newspaper published by and for the tenants once each month; and a Credit Union with assets of \$3,100 and a total of \$7,636 loaned to members as of May 31, 1940. A dividend of 4½ percent on savings was paid by this organization to the members at the end of 1939, eighteen months after it was chartered by the Federal Government. In addition to these activities, there is a Boy Scout Troop, three groups of Girl Reserves, a Men's Club, and a Woman's Club.

C. The incomes of the families in "Beaver Slide" ranged from "no income" reported by 70 families in Dr. DuBois' *Study of the Atlanta University Slum Clearance Area*¹ to the income of a physician who estimated that he was making \$2,600 per year. One hundred and sixty-two of the families reporting, or 69 percent, gave their incomes at less than \$12 per week. Twenty-seven, or 11 percent, of those reporting owned their homes. Of the rest only 16 paid more than \$12 for rent.

At University Homes the law requires that we rent only to families whose incomes do not exceed five times the rent. In 1937 when the project opened, the average shelter rent per room per month of \$5.15 and a gross rent of \$6.87 per month was charged. This gross rent included shelter, hot and cold water, steam heat, and electricity for lighting and cooking. Subsequent reductions have brought the rents down to an average gross rent of

¹ *Study of the Atlanta University Slum Clearance Area*, W. E. B. DuBois, Atlanta University, 1934.

\$4.97 per room per month. The family average income during the period of the highest rent was \$964.87 per year per family, and in 1938 it dropped to \$958.62. By the end of 1939, it had dropped to \$909.54, a little over \$17.00 per week. Even more significant, however, is the fact that the average income per wage earner, even when our rents were highest, was only \$574.44 per year or \$11.00 per week. It took 1.6 wage earners per family to pay the rent in 1937; in 1939 the average number of wage earners was 1.5. While the present occupants of the site have a higher average income than was true of the former, they do not now pay a higher rent when you consider the utilities are included at wholesale rates and the former tenants had to buy their coal and ice in small quantities. In other words, for an equal expenditure, the present tenants get far superior accommodations within their ability to pay.

D. In the Old "Beaver Slide" the children had no formal playground or other indoor recreation space than a vacant house, or their own already overcrowded dwelling. Consequently, they roamed the streets or loafed on the corners absorbing the blue haze of loud strife and picturesque swearing that was the order of the day in "Beaver Slide." Today, we have in University Homes nineteen small play areas, and one large playground. Indoors we have a workshop equipped with wood-working tools, two furnished clubrooms, and a large auditorium which is also used for ping-pong, carom and group games. The playgrounds are open every day, and the Indoor Center is open three nights a week. All recreation programs are supervised by a member of the management staff and a group of six workers furnished by the W.P.A. All the activities are open to children in the neighborhood as well as

to the boys and girls in the project. Our usual attendance at the Night Center runs between 150 and 200, divided almost equally between children of resident families and children from the outside.

II

Less obvious than the physical and socio-economic transformation is the decrease to the city in the cost of furnishing of municipal services to these areas. There has been no decrease in the cost of schools, and it is too soon to expect any considerable reduction in the cost of medical care since the bad effects of substandard housing on health are slow and lasting as well as epidemic. From time to time, however, cases come to my attention of tenants in University Homes who are able to resist the ravages of tuberculosis because they have a clean, warm place in which to rest. During 1939, of the fifteen deaths recorded of University Homes residents, only one was due to pulmonary tuberculosis. With approximately one-fiftieth of the Negro population in the county, we had only one death out of a total of 272 Negroes who died of tuberculosis in 1939.

III

From the standpoint of financial gain to the community, the projects have increased the revenue of the city in several ways. When the sites were purchased by the Federal Government, there was an outstanding tax obligation representing current and back taxes of \$8,005.16 on the University Homes site alone. Since the projects have been occupied the city has been paid annually amounts roughly comparable to 3 percent of the gross rentals collected on each project. This represents an increase over the taxes assessed the areas prior to the new building, and by the concentration of the owner-

ship of all the houses in the area under one Authority, there is no cost to the city for collections and tax delinquencies. The city water works has increased its revenue from the site from a maximum of \$305.00 per month to an average of \$910.00 paid by University Homes since it was opened for occupancy. The improvements that have been made in property surrounding the project sites will also be sources of increased revenue to the city in the future.

IV

This concentration of population under one central management has made it easier for the city to collect personal and street taxes from individuals who have never made a tax return. Whether there will be a corresponding increase in participation on the part of the tenants in the civic affairs of the city is a question yet to be answered, but the achievement of such a desirable objective has been greatly assisted by such a concentration.

V

The provision of playground facilities and indoor recreation space has eased somewhat the pressure on the city to provide these facilities, but the new program will be more carefully designed so that the tenants will not have to pay, through rent, for services and facilities they should get in return for taxes. Of course the question might be raised in the case of public housing as to whether there is a distinction between rent and taxes. That is beside the point since tenants in public housing projects are expected to pay both.

VI

It is too soon to say what permanent effect this new housing will have on future real estate operation and real estate values. In Atlanta and elsewhere, the immediate

reaction was an increase in building activity and of value of real estate in the neighborhood adjacent to the projects. What will happen when the acreage of city property covered by public housing projects can be measured in hundreds of acres and the population of public housing projects reach the two and three thousand family mark is still a big question.

VII

By way of enlisting private support for increasing the supply of good housing for people of low incomes, the most encouraging thing about the whole housing program is that it is increasing the demand for better housing from the people themselves who have had to live in substandard houses. As one realtor put it, "There was a time when a family would be interested only in the street number of the vacant house and the monthly rent. Today that same family wants to know what is in the house by way of lighting, heating, and toilet facilities." It is a reasonable expectation that if this attitude should become widespread there would be a gradual raising of the standard of housing which is made available by private owners to people of low incomes.

VIII

From the standpoint of race relations, two important policies were laid down by the Administrator of Public Works in the first public housing program. These policies were, first, that the racial character of a neighborhood should not be changed by a housing project. If it became impossible to do otherwise, adequate accommodations must be provided elsewhere, in the same program, for the racial group displaced. The second principle was that qualified Negroes would be employed to manage Negro projects. These two policies are being carried out in the

new program almost one hundred percent. Only three local housing authorities have objected to Negro managers for Negro projects and it is probable that by the time their projects are ready for occupancy, they will suffer a change of heart. The effect on the community of the operation of these two policies will be, first, the rehabilitation of existing Negro neighborhoods instead of a shift of the Negro population to less desirable locations. Second, the opening of additional white collar jobs for Negroes in Southern communities will help to reduce the migration from the South of the Negro white collar worker and retain in these communities persons who can make a much needed contribution to the civic life of the community.

A further analysis of the effects of public housing on the community is rendered difficult by the changes in administration, in policy, and in program that have occurred in the last six years. In that short period of time, we have gone from no public housing, through public housing as a form of public works for the relief of unemployment and very recently into public housing as a regular and continuing form of government activity. In this short time we have seen housing as an absolutely private enterprise, then as an activity of the Federal Government in Washington, and now as an activity of local governments. These rapid transitions have had their effect on standards of housing to be furnished, on the amount of subsidy to be given each project, which in turn affects the rents to be charged, and on the policies of tenant selection.

So far I have given a recital of what the housing program can do and is doing for the community in clearing it of its slums and adding to its material wealth as well as to its wealth of human resources. The

community itself, however, can do much for housing. The rapid increase in the number of good housing authorities participating in the program is evidence that the average American community is taking the first step. There are other steps, however, that the community must take to prevent the housing program from dying in its swaddling clothes. The communities must first of all cooperate with the local housing authorities in their attempts to keep rents low. They can do this by relieving the housing authorities from complying with outmoded and inapplicable legislation governing building construction permits, renting, and garbage removal. It should find ways to reduce the cost to the project of direct municipal services like street lighting and sewage disposal, and the municipally regulated services such as electricity, water, and gas. Too often the Public Utility Company is able to hide behind the skirts of the State or municipal rate-fixing body when a local housing authority seeks to get lower rates for its projects. In Atlanta, despite the fact that the Water Department has only 15 meters to read and maintain for the 675 tenants at University Homes, we pay a flat rate of \$1.30 per month for water for each apartment whether or not that apartment is occupied. With rent down to \$4.97 per room per month, this \$1.30 per family per month for water represents as much as eleven percent of the monthly rent in the smaller unit. Cut this figure down to its proper proportion and lower rents can be achieved.

The municipality can cooperate with the housing programs by integrating the development activities of its school board, its planning and/or zoning commission, its department of building inspection, its sanitation service, its department of parks and playgrounds, and its public

health department with the housing program of its local authority. A housing project can be located in only a relatively small area of the city, any city; more housing projects can reclaim only scattered sections. But there is more to the housing program than the spotting of projects in selected areas. The housing program requires a concurrent program of demolition which is not limited to the slum site. Due to better site planning, it is possible in almost every instance to build more houses than were removed from the original site. As one substandard house must be demolished for every new house that is built with U. S. H. A. funds, the municipalities can facilitate this vital part of the program by strengthening existing building safety and condemnation laws.

Perhaps the best form of cooperation the local community can give the program

is the selection of capable, unselfish, far-sighted individuals for membership in the local housing authorities. There should be selected men and women who will regard the provision of good housing for the low income citizens as a matter of civic pride and the managing of these housing projects as a public and not a private business; men and women who will keep the housing projects open for occupancy by the people who need them most and not for the people who vote or who work for people who vote. Public housing in the last two years has taken tremendous strides. With the proper cooperation of the communities, public housing can build the proper foundation for a happier home life, a healthier people, and a fuller enjoyment, by more people, of the technological wonders of our civilization.

SOUTHEASTERN COOPERATIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

A Work-Conference is scheduled for November 14, 1940, at the Atlanta-Biltmore Hotel, beginning with a dinner meeting at 6:30, and holding through Friday, November 15.

The SECA has grown out of the spring meetings on Cooperatives held in Greenville, South Carolina in 1939 and (with the Adult Education Association) in Atlanta, Georgia in 1940. The purposes of the SECA are to promote all forms of Study Groups to educate people to help themselves; to act as a clearing house for information on existing organizations having to do with cooperative effort; to aid in the promotion of general programs of cooperation on Rochdale principles with special emphasis on study clubs, credit unions, consumer-producer-marketing cooperatives; and to promote local, State, and Southeastern conferences on education for Cooperatives. The first mimeographed number of *The Southeastern Cooperator* was issued September 1, 1940.

The officers are as follows: President, Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina (1940-41, Visiting Professor of Sociology, Louisiana State University); Secretary-Treasurer, Edward Yeomans, Jr. of West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia; Vice-Presidents, John Hope, II, of Atlanta University, C. B. Loomis of the Greenville (S. C.) County Council for Community Development, T. M. Campbell of Tuskegee Institute, Ruth Morton of the American Missionary Association.

Membership is open to all individuals and organizations interested in forwarding the purposes outlined above; minimum membership is \$1.00 per year, contributing membership, \$5.00 per year, sustaining membership, \$10.00 per year.

This November work-conference will focus upon the developing of cooperatives through agricultural extension work, church organizations, labor groups, schools and colleges. Among the conferees will be L. F. Warbington, Ellsworth Smith, and others who have had extensive practical experience in Ohio, Kentucky, and in other areas with Study Group activities that have led to community and cooperative organization. The aim of the SECA is to help existing social institutions to organize study groups so fundamental in the Cooperative Movement.

LEE M. BROOKS,
President.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AND MARRIAGE IN BRANCH COUNTY, MICHIGAN

HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY AND ALVIN ZANDER

University of Michigan

BRANCH County is in the south-central part of Michigan bordering the Indiana State line. It is about midway between Detroit and Chicago. The intersection of U. S. highways 112 and 27 occurs in the center of the city of Coldwater, the county seat. The county is almost square in shape, extending 24 miles from the eastern to the western boundary and $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the northern to the southern boundary. It has an area of 503 square miles. According to the 1930 census the population of the county was 23,950 of which 71.9 percent was classed as rural.

As a part of a larger study conducted under the joint auspices of Branch County Health Department, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Michigan and the University of Michigan, a survey was made of the residential propinquity of the men and women applying for marriage licenses over a period of ten years. The study was based on records in the county offices at Coldwater. The data consisted of the addresses of the persons married between the dates of June 11, 1927 and June 11, 1937. They were tabulated under the four following groups:

Group A consisted of those couples who gave the same post office address within the county.

Group B was composed of those couples who gave different post office addresses within the county.

Group C consisted of those couples, one member of whom gave an address within the county and the other gave an address not more than 50 miles away.

Group D was constituted by those couples, one member of whom gave an address in Branch county and the other gave an address more than 50 miles away.

The results grouped under the four preceding classifications are presented in Table 1.

Undoubtedly many of the residents of Branch County, Michigan go outside of the county to secure their licenses for marriage. The somewhat less stringent marriage laws of Indiana which is just over the southern boundary of the county is a large factor in this migration. In view of this fact it should be made clear that the data reported in Table 1 do not represent *all* the marriages affecting the residents of Branch County during the years 1927-37. On the other hand the 1213 marriages reported in this study out of a total population of 23,950 (1930 census) represent a rate of 5.2 per 1000. The rates for the United States during the decade 1920-30 were from 10 to 11 per 1000 and from 1930 to 1933 decreased from

9.2 to 7.9 per 1000.¹ In New York State the marriage rates ranged from 9.4 per 1000 in 1927 to 9.7 per 1000 in 1935.² Assuming that the true rate for Branch county is somewhere in the neighborhood of the rates for New York State and the country as a whole, it is safe to assume that the number of marriages reported in Table 1 represents well over half of the marriages occurring in the county for the period 1927-37. There is also no reason to believe that the propinquity data for

address at the time of application. Twelve percent reported a different address; 21 percent were couples one member of whom resided in the county and another less than 50 miles away; while 21 percent were separated by a distance of 50 miles or more. In other words 58 percent came from Branch County and 79 percent or almost four-fifths came from a distance of less than 50 miles from one another.

Since the years 1927-37 represented the last two prosperous years of the nineteen twenties and the lean years of the depression, the data were listed year by year in order to detect any trends that might be revealed. An analysis of the results yields no outstanding tendency except confirmation of the well known fact that the number of marriages decreased during the severe years of the depression.

Bossard³ analyzed the residences of 5000 applicants for marriage licenses in Philadelphia and discovered a high degree of geographic proximity in this group. He found that the members of one-third of the couples whose addresses he located lived within five blocks or less of each other, and that with increasing distance between the residences of the prospective mates the percentage of marriages decreased steadily. Geographic proximity in an urban and nonurban environment can scarcely be reduced to comparable spatial units. The authors conclude, however, that the general tendency which Bossard found for an urban district is essentially true for a semirural area. At least in Branch County between 1927 and 1937 the majority of young people applying for marriage licenses marry those who reside within a relatively short distance of one another. It was this

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF APPLICANTS FOR MARRIAGE LICENSES
IN BRANCH COUNTY, MICHIGAN DURING THE
YEARS 1927-37 HAVING FOUR DIFFERENT
DEGREES OF RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY

YEAR	PERCENTAGE IN EACH GROUP				TOTAL NUMBER OF COUPLES
	A	B	C	D	
1927-28	44	12	22	22	145
1928-29	49	13	20	18	131
1929-30	48	11	25	16	100
1930-31	41	13	23	23	74
1931-32	42	18	14	26	102
1932-33	47	13	23	17	97
1933-34	47	6	23	24	123
1934-35	54	14	15	17	155
1935-36	40	8	24	28	153
1936-37	49	11	21	19	133
1927-37	46	12	21	21	1,213

those who went out of the county for their marriage licenses would be any different from the data herewith reported for those who secured their licenses at the county seat in Coldwater.

The data in Table 1 indicate that 46 percent of the 1213 couples applying for a marriage license at the county seat between 1927 and 1937 reported the same

¹ J. K. Folsom, *The Family, Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1934), p. 316.

² New York World-Telegram, *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1937, p. 447.

³ J. H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38, pp. 219-224 (1932).

fact that led the authors to propose a strong recreational and educational program for the out-of-school youth from 16 to about 25 years of age in the county not merely for the sake of occupying

their leisure hours but also for the purpose of providing a satisfying socio-psychological environment which would be conducive to the wise selection of a prospective life partner.

FARM TENANCY AND MARITAL STATUS WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON NEGRO MARRIAGE

OLIVER C. COX

Wiley College

IT HAS been shown that the percentage of persons married tends to decrease from rural communities to cities of over a million population.¹ In rural communities, however, we might expect that as more or less of the population is occupied as farm laborers, tenants, or owners the percentage married will vary. A gradation in early marriage has been observed among farmers according to their economic status. "Women in the tenant class apparently marry at an earlier age than do women in the owner class; likewise the wives of farm laborers marry at a younger age than do tenant wives."² Farm tenancy is a specialized form of rural occupation which, for Negroes, is characterized by the plantation economy of the South. The tenant family is the unit of labor; and the larger the family the more valuable it is to both landlord and tenant.³ A family and children to the tenant farmer are not only

an investment against the insecurities of old age, but also a means of economic advancement. The tenant frequently occupies larger and larger tracts of land as his family grows.⁴

Besides the peculiar economic value of women on independently owned farms, the wife of the tenant, because of the nature of plantation economy, assumes even greater domestic obligations. It is through her that the greatest advantage could be derived from the "free goods" of the plantation—house, fuel, greens, nuts, berries, game, and so on.⁵ "Furnish," or advancements of supplies and money, is ordinarily given to the tenant on a family basis. Generally the standard of living of the tenant farmer is extremely low,⁶ and his agricultural methods are comparatively elementary. We should expect, then, that marriage will assume relatively great significance to the man contemplating a life of tenant farming.

For 322 rural counties of the South in which the Negro population was over 2,000 and 100 percent rural, we have calculated the ratio of the number of Negro

¹ Ernest R. Groves and William F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York, 1928), p. 72. Dwight Sanderson, *Relation of Size of Community to Marital Status*, Memoir 200, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, New York.

² *Farm Tenancy*, Report of the President's Committee, National Resources Committee, Washington, 1937, p. 55.

³ T. J. Woolter, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation* (Washington, 1936), p. xx.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109; *Farm Tenancy*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁵ T. J. Woolter, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 92; and Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 74-5.

⁶ *Farm Tenancy*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

tenants to the male population 15 years of age and over.⁷ These ratios were then correlated with the percentages of the population married in the counties. In Table 1 the average total percentages married for different tenancy ratios are shown.⁸

These data indicate generally that as the percentage of tenants increases, the total percentage of all Negro persons 15 years of age and over married also increases. The correlation (r_{mt}) is $+0.75$.

TABLE 1
RATIO OF NEGRO TENANT FARMERS TO TOTAL MALE NEGRO POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 322 RURAL COUNTIES AND AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS MARRIED, 1930

RATIO OF TENANTS* TO MALE POPULATION	PERCENTAGE MARRIED	RATIO OF TENANTS TO MALE POPULATION	PERCENTAGE MARRIED
0-4	58.2	40-44	59.3
5-9	57.2	45-49	60.1
10-14	56.1	50-54	60.7
15-19	58.7	55-59	60.6
20-24	59.1	60-64	62.0
25-29	59.2	65-69	65.3
30-34	59.0	70-74	66.3
35-39	59.7	75-79	68.0

* For number of tenants see Fifteenth Census of the United States, Agriculture, II, County Tables, Table I.

For the sexes, however, the relationship differs considerably. The correlations are $+0.59$ for males and $+0.11$ for females. Thus, although tenancy correlates positively with the marital status of both males and females, it seems to influence that of females almost not at all.

Yet other factors may be determining

⁷ The assumption is that the larger the ratio of tenants to male population, the more truly will the county represent a plantation economic system.

⁸ Unless otherwise specified the data for this study are taken from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*.

these relationships. Some of them are the sex ratio (number of men to 100 women), the increase or decrease in population which may be considered an index of relative economic status among counties, and differences in age distribution. We shall attempt to eliminate the effect of the first two of these; there is no method at hand by which we can properly eliminate the effect of differences in age. Even if we could determine the effect of age differences satisfactorily, however, we should expect these extremely rural districts represented by large plantations to have populations in less favorable marital ages than communities characteristic of independent or nonfarm occupations.⁹

As we have indicated in Table 2, the elimination of the probable effect of differences in the increase or decrease in population¹⁰ does not change the original correlation significantly. When we give each county the same sex ratio, however, the correlation for males is decreased somewhat from $+0.59$ to $+0.52$, while it is increased for females from $+0.11$ to $+0.30$.

⁹ There is, however, some reason to believe that the average age of tenants is somewhere between that of farm laborers and owners. Although comparatively few Negroes attain the status of farm ownership—the rule being that they who begin as laborers may advance as far as farm tenants—it seems that the individual who starts as a farm laborer in his youth may become a farm owner in later life. Thus we may expect farm owner-operators to be generally older than tenants. See *Farm Tenancy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰ It is assumed here that a county whose population has been increasing between 1920 and 1930 offers better economic opportunity for its people than one from which people have been migrating. It has been shown that Negroes have been probably underenumerated in the 1920 census. But if the error in enumeration is constant, which is likely since all the counties are in the rural area of one section of the country, the correlations will not be affected.

Farm tenancy among Negroes, then, seems to exert its influence more upon the marriage of men than upon that of women. We might have expected this for, as we have indicated above, the unmarried tenant farmer would be at a great disadvantage. Although the percentage of women married seems to increase as tenancy increases, there is probably little more necessity for women to marry in

TABLE 2

CORRELATION OF PERCENTAGES OF NEGROES MARRIED AND RATIO OF TENANTS TO MALE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER (r_{mt}), WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE IN POPULATION (i) AND SEX RATIO (s) CONSTANT

COEFFICIENTS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
r_{mt}	+0.59	+0.11	+0.75
$r_{mt,i}$	+0.59	+0.11	+0.76
$r_{mt,s}$	+0.52	+0.30	+0.78

TABLE 3

CORRELATION OF PERCENTAGE MARRIED AMONG RURAL NATIVE WHITE PERSONS AND THE RATIO OF TENANTS TO MALE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER (r_{mt}), WITH THE SEX RATIO (s) CONSTANT

COEFFICIENTS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
r_{mt}	+0.40	+0.31	+0.41
$r_{mt,s}$	+0.42	+0.40	+0.43

tenancy areas than in other rural farm areas.

In the case of native whites, the relationship of farm tenancy to marital status is not so clearly marked. For 166 counties (all in the South) with populations entirely rural, over 5,000, and at least 95 percent native white, the correlation of the ratio of farm tenants to male population and the percentage of persons 15 years of age and over who are married is +0.41. Table 3 shows that the relationship is a little higher for males than for females, +0.40 and +0.31 respectively.

As in the case of Negroes, if we eliminate the effects of differences in the sex ratio, the difference between the correlation for the sexes is narrowed, while that for both sexes is increased.

In the United States there is a larger number of white tenant farmers than Negroes, but Negro tenants are concentrated in fewer counties.¹¹ For the 166 counties selected the mean tenancy ratio for native whites is 15.2; while for the Negro counties the ratio is 29.8. The range for whites is from counties with no farm tenants to those with 40 percent of the male population, 15 years of age and over, tenants. The range for Negroes is from 0 to 80 percent. We should expect, then, to see the influence of tenancy upon marital status more clearly among rural Negroes.

The correlation of the sex ratio and the tenancy ratio for native whites is +0.003; for Negroes, it is -0.31. It is difficult to explain this negative correlation, unless it is the result of more rapid Negro male migration from the plantation.¹² In this case, also, the absence of intense tenant farming counties among native whites may probably explain the difference in correlations.

CONCLUSION

Farm tenancy is a form of agricultural employment which, for Negroes, is characterized by the plantation economy of the South. Because of the simple methods of agriculture employed we might think of farm tenancy as an index of ruralization. Thus the larger the percentage of persons employed as tenants in a county the more rural might be its culture. Women seem to be of even greater economic value in tenancy areas than in farm-owner areas.

¹¹ See Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 61.

¹² See Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

The family man has a special economic advantage over the single tenant farmer.

Marriage of both sexes tends to increase as the ratio of tenants to male population in the counties increases. The correlation between the ratio of Negro tenant farmers to male population, 15 years of age and over in rural counties, and the total percentage married is 0.75. In the case of native whites there is also a positive relationship between tenancy and marriage, but not so marked as among

Negroes. The relationship is rather closer for Negro men than women. Thus it seems that marriage is more significant in the lives of males than females in tenancy areas. It may be further stated that the opposite of all the arguments, excepting perhaps the affectional, which might be used in explanation of this difference, may be cited in attempting to reach conclusions on the evidently smaller significance of marriage to males than to females in the city.

ILLEGAL FAMILIES AMONG THE CLIENTS OF FAMILY AGENCIES

RAYMOND B. STEVENS

Elmira College

WORKERS in family agencies sometimes meet the couple or family which exists without benefit of marriage. No one knows how many such families there are in the general population, but those which come to light when their problems bring them to our agencies for assistance suggest that the average city contains a considerable number of them. Not infrequently the law is a contributing factor to the illegality of the relationship because one or both partners are married to someone else from whom they cannot get a divorce, either because they have no ground for divorce which is recognized by law or because the expense involved is too great. Since the expense item is much the same in all States it would seem that there might be more of these illegal families in a State like New York which recognizes adultery alone as a ground for divorce than in other States which allow divorce on several other grounds. This study is an attempt to throw some light on the number of illegal

families, and to discover if there is a relationship between the number of such families and the divorce laws of the States.

Information as to the number of illegal families cannot be obtained from any census. Moreover, public agencies generally, and many private agencies, do not inquire very specifically into the personal affairs of their clients, or check legal records, unless some point of welfare law is involved. The agencies most likely to have information about the marital status of their clients and to have these data systematically recorded are those which emphasize case work procedures and which deal more thoroughly with personal and family problems. For this reason the information desired was solicited from private agencies which were members of the Family Welfare Association.

To make comparisons possible, data were secured from New York and from the States of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. These States

were chosen because their general population type and social situations were as similar to those in New York State as any group of States which might have been selected, whereas their divorce laws were all more liberal and thus in contrast to New York's law.

Out of something over one hundred agencies contacted, usable figures were received from fifty-seven agencies. The number from each State ranged from eight agencies in Indiana to sixteen in New York, and the number of clients involved ranged from 4042 in Pennsylvania to

high rate for divorce. New York has a much higher rate for unmarried couples among the cases of the agencies and a much lower divorce rate. Pennsylvania has the highest rate of unmarried couples and the lowest divorce rate. Massachusetts has next to the lowest rate for unmarried couples and a fairly high divorce rate, though not as high as Indiana and Ohio. If we combine Indiana, Ohio, and Massachusetts, the States with the more liberal divorce laws, we find that they have a rate of unmarried couples of .27 percent and a divorce rate of 4.18 percent, whereas

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGAL FAMILIES AMONG THE CLIENTS OF FAMILY AGENCIES

STATE	CASE LOAD	PERCENT OF CASE LOAD					
		Common law couple	Unmarried couple	Unmarried mother	Deserted	Divorced	Separated
Ind.....	4,285	0.14	0.09	0.72	2.19	3.92	4.31
Ohio.....	7,921	0.38	0.45	2.06	3.59	5.17	8.47
N. Y.....	4,701	0.39	0.83	1.17	2.91	2.00	7.24
Pa.....	4,042	0.64	1.23	4.08	3.73	1.01	6.77
Mass.....	4,976	0.00*	0.12	0.78	4.34	2.83	5.52
Total.....	25,925	0.31	0.52	1.75	3.39	3.40	6.71

* Massachusetts does not recognize a common law relationship.

7921 in Ohio, so that each State is fairly well represented. The period covered by the agency reports was usually the last full year for which figures had been compiled, usually the year of 1938. Several gave figures for the last six months, three months, or the last month, and a few gave a spot figure for the day on which they replied.

Table I presents a summary of the results by States.

We are especially concerned with the figures for unmarried couples and for divorce. It can be seen that Indiana and Ohio have a comparatively low rate for unmarried couples combined with a

New York has a rate of unmarried couples three times as great (.83 percent) and a divorce rate about one-half as great (2 percent); Pennsylvania has a rate of unmarried couples about four and a half times as great (1.23 percent) and a divorce rate less than one-fourth as great (1.01 percent). The rank correlation between the percentage of unmarried couples and the percentage divorced by States is $-.70 \pm .15$. Apparently there is a relationship between the rates of unmarried couples and the rates of divorced people in the case load of the agencies. In general, the rate for un-

married couples increases as the divorce rate decreases.

The divorce rates as derived from the records of the agencies consulted in this study indicate some relationship between the rates of divorce and the laws of the States. New York grants divorce for adultery only. Pennsylvania adds desertion, cruelty, and crime. Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana add drunkenness and nonsupport to the grounds recognized by Pennsylvania. Little difference can be discovered between the laws of Massachusetts and Ohio as to degree of liberality, but Indiana is somewhat more liberal than either Massachusetts or Ohio in that desertion may be for two years instead of three as in Massachusetts and Ohio, drunkenness has no time specified, and crime relates to any infamous crime without specifying a five year sentence as in Massachusetts or a penitentiary sentence as in Ohio.¹ Thus it would appear that New York has the least liberal divorce law, with Pennsylvania next, then Massachusetts and Ohio about the same, and finally Indiana with the most liberal law. There is a general tendency for the divorce rates of the agency clients to be higher in the States with the more liberal laws, but the correspondence is not exact. Thus, New York has next to the lowest divorce rate, Pennsylvania the lowest, Massachusetts and Ohio are third and fifth respectively, and Indiana has next to the highest rate. When the States are ranked according to the liberality of their divorce laws as described above and according to the number of the divorced, the rank correlation by states is $.75 \pm .13$. There is a rather definite tendency for divorce rates of agency clients to be higher in the States with the more liberal laws. When this tendency is associated with the

tendency for the rates of illegal families to increase as divorce rates decrease, we have evidence that the proportion of illegal families tends to be greater in States with rigid divorce laws and less in States with liberal laws. When the States are ranked according to the liberality of their laws and according to the rates of unmarried couples, the rank correlation is $-.83 \pm .04$.

A few other observations may be made. According to our figures there seems to be some relation between the number of unmarried couples and the number of separated, the rank correlation by States being $.60 \pm .19$, which suggests that some separated persons form these illegal families. There is apparently little relation between the number of the divorced and the number of the separated, or between either of these and the number deserted. In all the States except Massachusetts, which does not recognize common law marriage, the number of common law couples varies directly with the number of unmarried couples, the rank correlation including Massachusetts being $.90 \pm .06$, or 1.00 if we exclude Massachusetts. As we would expect, the relation between unmarried couples and unmarried mothers is high, the rank correlation by States being $.90 \pm .08$. There seems also to be some relationship between the number of separated and the number of unmarried mothers since the rank correlation is $.70 \pm .15$. The proportion of foreign-born seemed to be a factor, also. Those States with the larger percentage of foreign-born had lower divorce rates and higher illegal family rates, the rank correlation by States between the percentage of foreign-born and the percentage divorced being $-.60$, and $+.50$ for the correlation between the percentage of foreign-born and the percentage of unmarried couples.

¹ Cf. Drummond, *Getting a Divorce* (Knopf, 1931), p. 217 ff.

We cannot be sure that the tendency for the rates of unmarried couples to vary inversely with the liberality of divorce laws is as true of the general population as it is for the clients of the agencies. However, we may infer that the same forces which affect the clients also affect the general population. We know also that the percentages of the divorced in the general population as given in the census figures² vary by States in nearly the same order as the percentage of divorced among agency clients. The rank correlation by States between the two series is $.80 \pm .05$. The divorce rates of agency clients, however, are two to three times as high as those of the general population. It seems, therefore, that the variations in State laws and perhaps other factors affect the divorce rates of the general population in very much the same manner that they affect the rates of agency clients, although the rates of the latter are uniformly higher. It is prob-

able that the relation between divorce rates and unmarried couples in the general population is likewise very similar to that among agency clients, except that the rate of unmarried couples may be higher among agency clients.

The results of the study show that among clients of family agencies the incidence of illegal families varies inversely with the divorce rate and that the divorce rate varies with the divorce laws. There is an association between strict divorce laws and the number of illegal families among family welfare clients. It would seem fairly safe to conclude that if the divorce laws of a State like New York were more liberal, there would be a smaller number of unmarried couples and families. The effect of more liberal laws in decreasing the number of illegal families would probably be even more pronounced if the cost of securing divorces were low enough so that the lower economic groups could secure them as readily as the other economic groups.

² Cf. Fifteenth Census, II, 853.

CONFERENCE ON CONSERVATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

The program for the Seventh Annual Conference on the Conservation of Marriage and the Family at the University of North Carolina and Duke University April 8, 9, and 10 is nearly completed. There will be three discussion sessions on "The Child and the Parent," "Education for Marriage," "Domestic Counseling," "Religion and Marriage," and "The Medical Aspects of Marriage." There will also be several one-session discussions of various problems of common interest.

Some of the leaders and speakers are: L. Foster Wood, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Professor Lawrence E. Clark, Hunter College; Roy E. Dickerson, Kansas City, Missouri; Nadina R. Kavinoky, M.D., Los Angeles, California; Emil Novak, M.D., Johns Hopkins Medical School; Frank Howard Richardson, M.D., Black Mountain, North Carolina; Professor Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University; Superintendent Worcester Warren, Bridgeport, Connecticut; W. Clark Ellzey, Marriage Council, Inc., Colorado Springs, Colorado; Frederick H. Allen, Director, Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic.

By vote of the Conference last year, attendance is to be restricted to two hundred and invitations are to go only to those professionally interested in the problems of marriage and the family. According to former custom, the first invitations will be sent to those who were present at the last Conference.

ERNEST R. GROVES,
Director.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

BULGARIANS AND SOUTHERN RURAL WHITES IN CONTRAST*

IRWIN T. SANDERS

University of Kentucky

THE Bulgaria of which I speak is three-fourths rural, definitely peasant. The group of Southern whites to which I limit myself in this analogy is made up of the small farmer, whether he be owner, tenant, share-cropper, hillbilly or cracker.¹ My discussion, centering as it does upon what the political columnists so fondly and not inaccurately term the "little people" of each region, therefore excludes the comparatively well-to-do urban industrial and professional groups of both Bulgaria and the South. In comparing rural Bulgaria and the rural South I was reminded of a question which has been often raised recently: Are we to have an American peasant class?² While I cannot answer

this question to my own satisfaction I recognize its implications. If we are to have a peasant class there is much we can learn from the agricultural sections of Europe where a stable, organized life has gone on for hundreds of years through the intensive use of all available natural resources in the midst of turbulent political changes, plagues and famines.

Just as visitors in writing of the South misuse the word "poor white"³ so we in considering the European scene often misuse the word "peasant," giving it a connotation of reproach as though a peasant were a serf.⁴ The Bulgarian

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940.

¹ "The South today, especially the Southeast, is essentially a land of hillbillies and other ruralites, whose chief contact with the commerce and culture of the world is through hick towns (p. 8).

"The South is a land of farms and farmers." . . . To appraise the South is to appraise farmers, whether for the art of living or for the lack of a living." (pp. 10-11). H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938).

² . . . Such are the beginnings of peasantry in the New World—The Collapse of the Black Belt planta-

tion system is a preface to American peasantry." A. F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 4.

³ W. T. Couch, Editor, *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934). See chapt. 20, The Tradition of "Poor Whites" by A. N. J. Den Hollander. M. R. Mell, "Poor Whites of the South," *Social Forces*, December, 1938, pp. 153-167.

⁴ . . . With this transformation (that is, the peasant becoming an entrepreneur) have come changes in the connotation of the word "peasant." He is no longer a rustic of inferior status too ignorant and dull to take advantage of commercial opportunities; it is increasingly recognized that the really important characteristics peculiar to the peasant are his sentiments and attitudes, the intense attachment to his native soil and family tradition, which, even

peasants whom I knew intimately for six years are independent farmers who dwell in their own homes, subsist on their own land⁶ and form a folk, in the anthropological sense.

Bulgaria, a Balkan country the size of Ohio with a population of six million, was for five hundred years under Turkish rule, becoming independent in 1878 as a result of a Russo-Turkish War. Bulgaria's reconstruction period therefore covers approximately the same time as ours.⁶ The few large landowners in Bulgaria fled to Turkey after the Liberation. This means that the Bulgarian farmers own their land; tenancy is very uncommon; the employment of farm laborers even less common.⁷ As the farm population has increased, the already small holdings have had to be further divided, until now the average farm totals 15 acres scattered in 17 strips around the picturesque villages in which the

people live.⁸ The heart of Bulgarian peasant economy is the agricultural village;⁹ the heart of life in the village is the home and the family system. Each farm of seventeen acres must support, in addition to all dependents, four or five adults of working age. The fact that women and children work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close cooperation, planning, and division of labor.¹⁰

Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.¹¹ Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.¹² That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else

in the economic sphere, take precedence over the desire for individual advancement and gain. This peasant ethos is common throughout continental Europe." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Article on Peasantry by C. von Dietze.

⁶ Peasantry, of course, is not synonymous with farm ownership everywhere in Europe, but the governments there (notably in Ireland and Denmark) recognize the importance of a landed peasantry as shown by recent attempts to lessen tenancy. See *Farm Tenancy, Report of President's Committee*, 1937, Section III, Some Tenure Programs of other Nations.

⁷ The crises through which Bulgaria has passed have much in common with those of the South as listed in H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 13-14. Nikola Stanev, *Istoria Na Nova Bulgaria, 1878-1928* (History of the New Bulgaria), Sofia, 1929.

⁸ Ian C. Mollov and T. E. Bakurdjiev, *Organizatsionnata Struktura Na Zemedelskoto Stopanstvo Vv Sofiska Okolia* (The Organizational Structure of the Farms in the County of Sofia), Sofia, 1931, pp. 6-7. (95.3 per cent of farmers work their own land, 4.7 per cent rent their land; only 3.2 per cent employ hired labor.)

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5. For the country as a whole see the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1939: "According to the census of 1934, eighty per cent of the active population were engaged in agriculture, most of them being small proprietors holding from one to six acres." This is understood more clearly when it is remembered that only thirty-nine per cent of the total area is arable and that this is divided into 750,613 farms. (*The New International Yearbook*, 1938, article on Bulgaria.)

¹⁰ H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.* "Farm ownership or a sounder lease policy is not enough to enable Southern hillbillies to live in decency. It is essential to provide by public effort for social and economic cooperation among small farmers, to make possible a better system of farm villages." p. 61.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

¹² Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

¹³ Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dobrodnostata Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.¹³ Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 percent of the cases,¹⁴ usually on a cash crop basis.¹⁵ Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.¹⁶ There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the cooperative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood corn-hoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and cooperation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

The failure of the Southern whites to cooperate for economic ends is tragic.

¹³ Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

¹⁴ *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy*, 1937, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

¹⁵ Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

¹⁶ Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

A Southern adaptation of cooperative patterns found successful elsewhere, if generally accepted, would afford a fuller, richer existence for the thousands of families which go their individual, poverty-stricken ways in the mistaken belief that cooperation is incompatible with independence. European peasants are renowned for their independence as well as for their cooperation.¹⁷

The Southern population is mobile, one out of every three Southern tenant families moving yearly.¹⁸ The Bulgarian population is permanent as shown in the study I made of the farmers of one Bulgarian village where 91.4 percent of the male family heads and 96.3 percent of their fathers had been born in the same village.¹⁹ We would expect this contrast because of the differences in the economic system.

But there is an interesting similarity between Bulgarians and the Southeast in those population characteristics which are dependent upon biological factors. The Southeast is often called the "nursery of the Nation" with a natural increase of 9.5 (birth rate 21.7, death rate 12.2),²⁰

¹⁷ This cooperation can be expressed on an informal basis as well as through a formal organization. Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, in addressing the American Association of School Administrators in February 1940 said: "Self-help is no new doctrine in rural areas, and the best approach to the improvement of rural life on all fronts is to utilize the capacities for self-sufficiency and to expand self-help from an individual to a community and cooperative basis. To do otherwise is so completely to urbanize farming and farm life as to lose nationally the unique contributions which country life always has made and always should make to our civilization."

¹⁸ *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, National Emergency Council, 1938, p. 47.

¹⁹ The Sociology of a Bulgarian Shopski Village, doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1938.

²⁰ Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 492 (evidently includes both Negro and white rates).

whereas Bulgaria is one of the leaders of Europe in this respect with a natural increase of 10.5 (birth rate 23.9, death rate 13.4).²¹

Homogeneity is characteristic of Bulgarian people as it is of the Southern white, not only in respect to similarity of racial strain but in respect to religion as well. Most Bulgarians are adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church; most Southern whites are Protestants.²²

The Southern whites share the region with a numerous minority; Bulgaria has no significant minority problem, for the Turks who comprised 11 percent of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,²³ and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns

handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.²⁴

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.²⁵

The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some poorer peasant

²¹ *The New International Yearbook, 1938, article on Bulgaria*. Note the decline since 1926 when the natural increase was 20.1 (birthrate 37, death rate 17) D. Kostov, *Geografia Na Bulgaria i Susednrite i Duzhbasi*, (Geography of Bulgaria and Neighboring States), Plovdiv, 1928.

²² Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²³ W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaton; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

²⁴ The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

²⁵ Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values.

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with Him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms.

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and

the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.²⁶

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the right to vote was gradually extended to the village men before these men had had the advantages of an adequate school system. They like ignorant people the world around were more influenced by personalities than by principles, thus becoming an easy prey to politicians who played upon their emotions, catered to their prejudices, and took advantage of their credulity. But vote they must or be fined approximately five dollars for staying away from the polls.

With an electorate so inexperienced in the democratic tradition great confusion arose. For instance, there were sixteen political parties in a nation of six million, making it impossible for any party to get a clear majority. The only way government could go on was by a bloc composed of several parties, but even this was

²⁶ John B. Holt, *Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast*. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

inefficient. Therefore in 1934 Bulgaria had a New Deal, a *coup d'état* headed by some military men who initiated numerous agrarian reforms. No longer did the peasants vote and thereby control government policies; instead they were told what to do. Gradually those who had engineered this *coup d'état* were displaced from power by the King, a dictatorship was averted, and two years ago²⁷ a semblance of democracy was again restored when the vote was given back to peasant men and mothers. Instead of allowing party affiliations the government organized the electorate on the basis of occupation, following the corporation system in Italy where parliamentary members represent an economic rather than a geographical constituency.

Watching the failure of democracy in Bulgaria has made me gravely concerned about the future of democracy in the South. I am strongly in favor of giving our disenfranchised groups the right to vote, but so many advocates of suffrage reform seem to forget the necessity of training these groups in the meaning and proper use of the ballot. Democracy is not a quantitative process which is better guaranteed by increasing the number of voters; it is a qualitative process which requires increasing understanding of the obligations of citizenship as well as extension of the franchise. Ignorant voters pave the way for demagoguery;²⁸ demagoguery creates a situation ripe for the dictator; dictatorships doom democracies.

Since 1934 the Bulgarian political philosophers have been floundering between democratic and dictatorial procedures but the peasant has been handed over to a new type of paternalism which has its analogy

in the South. The central government in Sofia is represented in the village by a professional man, usually a lawyer, as mayor. This mayor acts as local justice of the peace; he takes advantage of every public occasion to tell the peasants in a fatherly way what they ought to do and think about matters of national importance. The mayor has some influence with the Debt Commissions coming from government banks to relieve the debt burdens of the farmers, he distributes whatever relief is available for needy families, and he has a prominent part in the administration of the school, public health, and village improvements. Because of this he is gradually displacing the priest as the most important personality in the village. In other words, the paternalism of the church is now being supplanted by that of the state.

We find a similar situation in the South where white farmers are beginning to depend less upon landlords, banks, and advancing merchants, and more upon the grants from governmental units, whether in the form of relief or credit facilities. Plantation or small-town paternalism is yielding to governmental paternalism.

The Bulgarian peasant is not a joiner. He does not use the organizational approach in attacking a problem but prefers to work through informal groups. There are two chief reasons why he avoids membership in the numerous formal groups seeking the villager's support: first, he is penurious and will pay no membership fee unless he sees some prospect of personal advantage; secondly, he does not understand the purpose or program of the organizations, since most of them originate in the cities and are promoted by the *intelligentsia*. There are no church organizations claiming his support as is the case in most Southern

²⁷ Parliamentary elections were held on the four Sundays of March, 1938 (*The New International Year-Book, 1938, Bulgaria*).

²⁸ A. F. Raper, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-169.

neighborhoods. Living in a village as he does the peasant can visit with friends and neighbors without the necessity of having an organization to provide a rallying place.

The Southern white thinks vertically; the Bulgarian peasant horizontally,—a difference in mental pattern which accounts for the difference in the social process.

By "thinking vertically" I mean that traditionally the Southern white is dominated by the attraction of the American ladder of opportunity, although for him it has often proved mythical.²⁹ That is, success in life is determined by the extent to which one approximates the plane of living enjoyed by those of a higher economic level. Climbing means competition rather than cooperation.³⁰ Frustration seems to be displacing the traditional, optimistic view among many of the Southern whites. They look up the ladder but say, "What's the use of starting the climb!" As individuals they are pitted against forces over which they have no control.³¹

The Bulgarian peasant in thinking horizontally identifies himself with other agriculturalists and accepts their culture as a heritage of which he is proud. He

derives strength as an individual from his consciousness of kind. His attitude was forcibly demonstrated when I tried to get answers to a questionnaire on occupational attitudes. I could not get a single peasant to answer one simple question: If you were not a farmer, what would you most prefer to be? It was inconceivable to them that they should be anything other than farmers. Although the Bulgarian peasant rides frequently in a bus or automobile it never occurs to him to want one of his own. If given an additional sum of money to spend he would buy more of what he already has—land, a new house, or animals. Because he thinks horizontally he cooperates with his fellows. As a matter of course he submits to stern social control for the common good.

I would like to say in conclusion that the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is not and enviable one; his plane of living is low but the improvement that will take place can occur in the social organization already in existence. The Bulgarian does have security for which he has had to pay the price of class distinction, at least as it exists in the minds of others; whether the disadvantaged groups of the South are becoming typed as a class without gaining security in exchange is a matter for serious consideration. In the South we are faced with the fact of disorganization among our rural population and a consequent reorganization. It has not been my purpose to map the plan this reorganization should follow, but to present a comparison which may help to clarify and stimulate our thinking as we search realistically for a solution.

²⁹ H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Shows the traditional nature of this mind-set in speaking of the Old South: "Nonslaveowners expected to become small slaveowners, and small slaveowners expected to become large ones." The mythical aspect is shown nowadays by the phrase "once a sharecropper, always a sharecropper."

³⁰ Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586, emphasizes the need for county and/or community cooperation.

³¹ Perhaps Populism in the late 19th century came as near creating a consciousness of kind among the rural whites as anything else has ever done.

HAITIAN MAGIC*

GEORGE EATON SIMPSON

Pennsylvania State College

THE Haitian peasant lives in a world which is peopled with dangerous natural and supernatural beings. To achieve success and to avoid misfortune one must keep on good terms with God, the Catholic Saints, the African gods, and the dead. Powerful magic is necessary to protect one's family against the evil intentions of enemies and sorcerers, and magical procedures are resorted to when the damage done by an enemy is to be avenged. The Haitian practitioner of magic advises his clients how they may placate the dead and the gods of the *vòdoun* cult, provides them with charms, medicines, and revenge magic, and some *boungans* include divination in the services which they offer to the public. We are not concerned here with the origins of the magico-religious beliefs and practices of the Haitian *vòdoun* cult. Apparently its supernaturalism and sorcery are derived from African tribal religions, Catholicism, and European witchcraft, but this discussion is limited to magic as it is practiced in northern Haiti today. Most of my data were secured from peasants living near the village of Plaisance.¹

Most of the witchdoctors in northern Haiti are also priests in the *vòdoun* cult, and nearly all of them carry on their activities in the field of religion and magic as a side line to farming. Supernatural power is obtained from one or

more gods in the *vòdoun* pantheon, and may be acquired in several ways. Many *boungans* have entered the profession because of dream-experiences in which one or more of the gods of the *vòdoun* cult appeared and informed them that they had been chosen as their servants. Some persons so selected by the gods claim that they had not been vodouists prior to the dream-experience, and that their families had never had anything to do with *vòdoun*. Some immediately accept the honor bestowed upon them by the gods, but others refuse the first invitation. In this case they usually have a second, and sometimes a third dream, and in these dreams the *vòdoun* gods threaten them with sickness and death if they do not obey their wishes. The following dream-experiences are typical.

During the government of Nord Alexis (1904) I was a soldier. I lost several children, at least five or six. One day still another child became sick. I was in great despair and decided to go to Leogane and consult a *boungan*. But in a dream I had the night before I planned to leave on this trip I saw a beautiful white woman with long hair who said, "I advise you not to go to Leogane because you risk putting your finger in blood. You must remain in your house, and I shall take your family under my protection." I felt a change in my mind, and the next day I treated my child with "leaves." The child was cured, and I built a small house in my courtyard. One night I had another dream, and the same woman, whose name I have no right to reveal, ordered me to buy an *image* of Saint Michele and place it in my new temple. Since that time I have been a practicing *boungan*.

My father had several dreams in which the gods told him that they wished him to become a *boungan*, but he refused to obey them. One day he was about to cross a river, but the water came up rapidly and he was held at the edge of the river all day. In a dream that night a *loa* (i.e. a god) told him "We forgive you this time, but if you continue to refuse our request we

* Acknowledgment is hereby made to the Social Science Research Council, New York City, for the post-doctoral fellowship which made this study possible.

¹ For other studies of Haitian magic see M. J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, Price Mars, *Ainsi Parla L'Oncle*, and J. C. Dorsainvil, *Vòdoun et Magie* and *Vòdoun et Neurose*.

shall be obliged to kill you, and take you under the water to the Ville au Camp where you will become a servant of the gods (that is, a *boungan*). He did not obey the gods, and continued to have dreams in which they warned him that he had better follow their command. Then he had a dream in which a god told him that he could protect him if he still wished to avoid becoming a *boungan*. The *loa* then advised him to find the leaves of a certain tree and to prepare a bath with them. He did this, but it turned out that the god had betrayed him and so instead of enabling him to avoid becoming a *boungan* it actually made a *boungan* out of him.

The few who are bold enough to defy the gods have nothing but misfortune the rest of their lives. Those who yield have, in the disease sanction, a perfect rationalization for their subsequent behavior. Many *boungans* deny that they are *medicine men* claiming that they are simply servants of the gods. Most of them are somewhat apologetic about their work, and practically all of them pretend to believe in the Catholic religion as well as in *voodoo*. This reluctance to become *boungans*, their protestations that they are not practitioners of magic, and their profession of faith in Catholicism, are probably due to the repeated denunciations of the cult by the Catholic priests.

Another way of acquiring supernatural power is through visions. Those who have them also become ill if they disregard the will of the gods, as the case of a famous servant of the gods shows.

The *Zangés* (another name for the *voodoo* gods) adopted me in spite of myself when I was about 17 or 18. One day I went with a friend to fish. She left me for a few minutes, and while she was gone I saw a white man sitting on the bank of the river in a rocking chair. The white man looked like a soldier and I cried to my friend, "Come and see a big chief." The man arose at once, took the chair, and threw himself into the river. When I returned home I became very ill. My face was partially paralyzed and I could not speak. My mother consulted several *boungans* and they all told her that I had seen a great chief (that is, a great *Zangé*), and that unfortunately I had revealed this fact. They also told her that if

she did not let me become a servant of this god that I would certainly die. My mother refused to allow me to become a servant, and my illness became worse. One day I got up and went to the river and began to sing. Then I threw myself into the river. My relatives rescued me, and my mother agreed to give a great ceremony at the river. After this ceremony I regained my health. Then Saint John (a *loa*) told me that he wished me to establish a temple. I refused to do this, and again became ill. This time the sickness lasted for six months, and finally I agreed to become a servant.

A third way for a man to become a *boungan* is through the degradation and transference rituals. When an important *boungan* dies it is necessary for another witchdoctor to degrade him, that is, to take the dead man's chief god from his head. Nine days later the *loa*, in rites known as the ceremony of transference, chooses a successor for his former servant. This ceremony is held at the grave of the dead man, and includes songs, prayers, dances, and an offering of food on a white plate for the gods. At the moment a chicken is sacrificed by the officiant one of the participants shrieks, whirls, leaps into the air and falls to the ground as if he had been seized by an epileptic fit. Presently this man who has been selected by the gods recovers and the rite is completed.

The *boungans* who have had dream-experiences or visions, or who have been selected in transference rituals, are probably outnumbered by the other witchdoctors, that is, those who have acquired their power by studying with famous *boungans*, those who have been chosen by ordinary *boungans* as their successors, and those who are charlatans.

A *boungan* loses his power if he disobeys the gods, fails to give them offerings and ceremonies, "mixes his knowledge," that is, tries to combine the secrets which the gods have given him with formulas and rites obtained from other sources, betrays women clients, or "dismisses" his *loas*.

Houngans acquire their power rather early in life, often before they are twenty or twenty-five. While the great majority of those in northern Haiti are men, there are a number of women in the profession, and one of the most famous practitioners of magic in the country is a woman.

The peasants attribute diseases to the gods, the dead, enemies, and sorcerers. They believe that the gods send diseases because their followers have disobeyed them or have failed to give them enough offerings and ceremonies. My informants said that the *loas* can cause all kinds of diseases, but that their favorite punishment is sores on the feet and legs.² The dead, displeased because they have been neglected by their living relatives, are responsible for many illnesses, but especially for headaches.³ The twins, a spe-

² In Mirebalais Herskovits found that the favorite disease of the *loas* was dysentery. Headaches there are blamed on the dead, and the twins are said to send earaches, toothaches, and constipation. *Op. cit.*, 202.

³ There are several categories of the dead. While the term *zombies* is often used to cover all dead persons it is also used in a special sense. *Zombies*, in the latter case, are persons who have been killed by sorcerers, or those who have met death in other ways, and have been resurrected by "bad" *houngans*. They have no souls, are completely dominated by their masters, and are used by them for evil purposes. *Zombie errants* are the spirits of human beings who died in accidents. They inhabit the woods by day and walk on the roads at night, as they live out the periods of earthly existence assigned to them by God. *Diables* are evil spirits who must live in the woods for several years before they can be admitted to Heaven. These devil-women are being punished for the crime of being virgins at the time of their deaths. *Lutins* are the ghosts of children who died before baptism. *Bakas* are human beings who have been converted into animals, usually dogs, by sorcerers. These creatures are sent out to steal for their masters. *Spectres* and *fantomes* are inhabitants of the other world who appear before the living stripped of their bodies. Ordinarily they disappear quickly and the living get only a glimpse of them. *Revenants* are the dead who feel that they have been neglected and who return to persecute their relatives. *Marassa-jumeaux* are dead twins. We refer above to *revenants*.

cial category of the dead, show their dissatisfaction with the living by giving them toothaches, earaches, and dysentery. Haitian peasants are extremely individualistic, and they constantly suspect their neighbors, most of whom they consider as enemies, of trying to poison them, or of paying *houngans* to work bad magic against them. They are especially afraid of those persons whom they believe are *loups garous*, that is, sorcerers who can change themselves into animals. These *loups garous* go about the countryside at night committing fiendish deeds.

Death occurs because God or the Saints call a man's soul to Heaven, because a god has been angered by the actions of a follower, or because of an enemy's poison or *ouangas*. When there is a death in a family one of the relatives goes to a *houngan* to discover who is responsible for the unfortunate event. If the medicine man finds that God, the Saints, or the African *oals* caused the death the family can do nothing because it is futile to oppose the will of supernatural beings. However, if the *houngan* finds that the death was due to the work of an enemy the family must seek revenge, and in this undertaking they have the encouragement and the active assistance of the sorcerer.

Nearly every type of magical technique is used in the North. Preventive magic is probably the most common form, and is found in the *simple*, the *point*, the *drogue*, the *garde*, and the *arrête*. The *simple* is the least important type of protection against bad magic, and is seen in such behavior as moving a chair after you get up if you suspect that your host has tried to use bad magic on you, making a cross by sliding your glass along the table if you are suspicious of your host's liquor, turning your hat over after it has been put down in a certain way by your host, and making a gesture with your hand as

you finish shaking hands. The *point* is a charm which is intended to safeguard one against all accidents, but especially against mishaps during time of war. A *drogue* is supposed to protect one against poison. After taking a *drogue* a glass with poison in it will break in your hands, or you will immediately vomit the contents of the glass. A *garde* is a charm which the *boungan* makes for a client to wear on his person, while an *arrête* is a magical product which is buried at the entrance to a family's courtyard. Both the *garde* and the *arrête* are relied upon to ward off evil spirits intent on causing sickness or death. *Arrêtes* are also used in fields to nullify the effects of spells and *ouangas*⁴ employed by jealous neighbors to ruin one's crops or to kill one's livestock.

Another interesting example of preventive magic is that of voluntarily having one's soul withdrawn from one's body so that an enemy cannot get it. To accomplish this feat the practitioner of magic takes a loaf of bread, makes a hole in it while uttering a magic formula, and then puts the bread in a black bottle. His client carefully buries the bottle in a place which is known only to himself. Since the bottle contains his soul his enemies will call it in vain, but if someone should happen to find the bottle it would be a great misfortune for him because he would then be at the mercy of this person. Another instance of preventive magic is found in a rite which is intended to prevent an enemy from summoning one's soul to a *boungan's* temple. In this rite,

⁴ An example of a spell to be repeated in an enemy's field to spoil his rice crop is as follows: "Land, how much rice can you produce for ———?" "About fifty barrels." "You do not need to give him that much. Ten barrels will be enough." A *ouanga* is a magical object, usually a bottle or a box which the *boungan* has filled with secret ingredients. The purchaser buries it in an enemy's field.

which is performed in a man's bedroom, the first act is to throw some food and water into a new cooking pot. Then one gets down on his hands and knees and eats the food and drinks the water like a dog. Following this one repeats this formula: "Chaudière, moin employé ou pou mangé-à-moin, moin servi ac ou con verre. Cé pou ou preventé quand chritien-vivant rhélé-moin l'en badji pou touyé moin." ("Cooking pot, I use you as a plate for my food, I use you as a drinking glass. You must present yourself in my place when my enemy calls me to the temple to kill me.") The last example of preventive magic which I shall cite is that of a rite for the protection of young children which is known as the "cinq points." In this rite superficial cuts are made on top of a baby's head, behind his ears, at the back of his neck, and under his chin.⁵ The blood from these cuts is wiped off with a piece of cotton, the cotton is put in a bottle and the bottle is carefully hidden.

Curative magic includes the use of the "leaves" (herbs) for special teas and baths, drugs obtained at a pharmacy in the nearest large town, suggestion, elaborate *vôdoun* ceremonies, flogging with magic whips to drive out evil spirits, and the execution of acts prescribed by the *boungan's* chief god. Curing is usually a private affair unless it involves the giving of a public *vôdoun* ceremony.

Good magic is also utilized to insure success in farming, love, war, and in obtaining employment. To illustrate this sort of magic I shall cite three procedures used in love-making. The first method is to get a certain small bird, remove its feathers, dry the body, make a powder of it, and take it to the *boungan* to charm.

⁵ Another informant gave the "five points" as the forehead, the back of the neck, the backs of both hands, and the sole of one foot.

After the powder is charmed the man puts it in his handkerchief, and as he walks past the girl whom he desires he shakes the handkerchief in her face. The powder will cause her to accept him. Another method is to get a practitioner of magic to charm a mirror, and then to flash this mirror on a girl who is passing along the road. The third technique is to get some magic powder from a medicine man and put it in the palm of one's hand. When a man who has this powder shakes hands with a girl she will follow him like a dog.

Contagious magic occurs in the conjuring which is done with nail clippings, hair, pieces of clothing, and names.

Soul conjuring is sometimes resorted to when a man wishes to get rid of an enemy. Here the *boungan* summons his client's enemy, and then stares into his *terrine* (clay bowl). If he sees nothing but the intended victim's house, trees, and other possessions, or his *loa*-protector, he informs his client that the other man has such a strong *garde* that if he continues in his efforts to kill him he will himself be killed. However, if he sees the man's soul in the *terrine* he tells his client to strike at it with a dagger. The client's enemy is supposed to have a hemorrhage about this time, or to have an accident such as falling from his horse, or from a tree, or cutting himself with a machete or an axe.

An important *boungan* is the master of quite an establishment. His assistants are called *badjicans*. These individuals assist him when he conducts *vòdoun* ceremonies, and at other times they act as spies, publicity agents, and, in the case of criminal witchdoctors, as "trigger men." Besides the *badjicans* each temple has its quota of *serviteurs*, or persons who become possessed by the gods, but who do not lead ceremonies, nor, as a rule, maintain temples where doctoring, conjuring, and

divining are done. The majority of vodouists who belong to a *badji* are known as *fidèles*, that is, they are believers but they are never possessed by the gods. From time to time a big *boungan* has one or more pupils studying under him, and he often has clients from a distance who reside in his household for weeks or months while he is giving them disease treatments.

Honest *boungans* charge nominal fees for their services, but the unscrupulous ones get all that the traffic will bear. Their strong belief in magic has been economically ruinous to many Haitian peasants because some sorcerers have exploited their credulity to the limit.

It seems quite likely that the *serviteurs*, and at least some of the *boungans*, are more unstable emotionally than the ordinary *fidèles* of the cult. Dr. J. C. Dorsainvil, a Haitian physician who has been interested in the medical aspects of *vòdoun* for many years, says that not more than ten percent of those who become possessed by the gods are pathological cases. Of course, this whole question needs further investigation, and until more evidence is available no real conclusions on this point can be drawn.

I was interested to find that three of my informants agreed that approximately half of the *fidèles* in the *vòdoun* cult have as their protectors one or more gods whose characters are the exact opposite of their own personality traits. We may have here, especially in the case of those who become possessed at ceremonies, an example of compensatory emotional release.

As stated earlier most of the Haitian witch doctors are also priests in the *vòdoun* cult, and nearly all of them practice magic as a side line to farming. The position of the *boungan* in the social order depends largely upon his personality traits and his achievements. While every *boun-*

gan is feared to some extent there are many who command little respect.

While many educated Haitians know little or nothing about *vòdoun* and speak contemptuously of it, it is true that some members of the *élite* take the cult seriously and that they consult practitioners of magic from time to time. According to legend Christophe, although strongly opposed to *vòdoun* after he came to power, himself consulted a noted *houngan*, and many high government officials since his time have been known to confer with these magicians.

In 1937 the government was enforcing the laws against *vòdoun* in an attempt to stamp it out. These efforts had little effect except to reduce the number of public ceremonies. Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries vigorously and continually denounce *vòdoun* and *houngans*,

but the people still fear the *loas* and have confidence in the sorcerers.

Before the American Occupation there were many *houngans* who, according to peasant standards, were quite prosperous. Today, however, because of the poverty of the people, because of governmental and ecclesiastical opposition, and because of recent developments in rural education, public health, and public works, the practice of magic is not as lucrative as it was a generation or so ago, and there are very few rich *houngans*.

There is no hierarchy in the *vòdoun* cult. Each *houngan* has supreme authority in his own temple, and each has his own peculiarities in conducting ceremonies and in carrying on his professional work. This independence leads to competition, jealousies, and attempts to injure rivals by means of magic.

SECOND SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON "TOMORROW'S CHILDREN"

The Second Southern Conference on Tomorrow's Children will be held December 5 to 7, 1940, with sessions at Duke University and at the University of North Carolina. William E. Cole, executive chairman, has announced the tentative program which will feature such speakers as Abel Wolman, Maryland State Planning Commission; Jonathan Daniels, Editor, News and Observer, Raleigh, North Carolina; Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; E. W. Palmer, Kingsport Press; Margaret Jarman Hagood, University of North Carolina; Joseph J. Spengler, Duke University; Douglas Freeman, Editor, The News Leader, Richmond, Virginia; Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina; Paul de Kruif, scientist and writer; W. S. Leathers, American Public Health Association; Bayard Carter, Duke University; John Overton, City Health Officer, Nashville, Tennessee; Robert E. Seibels, Committee on Maternal and Child Welfare, South Carolina Medical Society; Donald Klaiss, University of North Carolina; M. J. Rosenau, University of North Carolina. Presiding officers will be Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Rupert B. Vance, research professor, University of North Carolina; Malcolm McDermott, Duke University Law School; N. C. Newbold, director of the North Carolina Division of Cooperation in Education and Race Relations; Barry Bingham, president and publisher, The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Kentucky.

Further information may be secured by writing Dr. William E. Cole, executive chairman, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

At the recent meeting of the Commission of Interracial Cooperation in Atlanta, Georgia, October 3 and 4, 1940, the Commission authorized its Executive committee to take such steps as may be necessary to extend the Commission's work and organization into the Council on Southern Regional Development, which has been under discussion for two or three years.

Dr. Will Alexander, member of the national defense commission, was re-elected executive director with C. H. Tobias, New York, as associate director. Miss Emily Clay was reelected secretary and J. S. Kennedy, treasurer. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, was continued as president of the Commission for another year in the transitional process. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, was elected first vice-president; Mrs. W. A. Newell, Greensboro, North Carolina, second vice-president; R. E. Clement, Atlanta University, third vice-president.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE REVOLT OF THE COMMON MAN IN CANADA

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University, Montreal

THE momentous events of the past year seem to add an air of verisimilitude to the oft-repeated dictum that we live in an European-centred world. This is the more unfortunate since it renders doubly difficult the task of those scholars who believe in an historical causation and development common to the whole North American Continent. The thesis they advance is worth exploration for it serves to make intelligible phases of Canadian and of United States history which are otherwise unexplainable. A century ago the United States entered upon a round of unprecedented commercial depression, while Canada entered upon a lively round of insurrection. The question naturally arises was there any connection between these two events, or was it mere coincidence that drove Americans into bankruptcy and Canadians into rebellion in the Year of Grace 1837.

The conventional answer is that there was no connection between these contemporary happenings; that any influence the United States may have had on the stirring events in Canada was merely indirect. Yet to substantiate this view it is necessary to deny the essential geographical unity of the northeastern section of the Continent, to refuse to admit

kinship between the people north and south of the International Boundary, and to be blind to the common problems which Americans, whether they were the subjects of Queen Victoria or the fellow citizens of President Van Buren, had to face. The purpose of this study is to suggest the reverse of the conventional view, and to suggest that the Canadian rebellion, as well as the American financial panic, had a similar economic and social background and that, so far from being an isolated event, the Canadian rebellion of 1837, was part of a great continent-wide struggle.

The essential character of the Rebellion of 1837 is best demonstrated by a survey of the British American Provinces a century ago. They formed a community, similar in many respects, to the thirteen Atlantic colonies on the eve of the American Revolution. Except for their allegiance to a common sovereign the British Provinces had little association with each other. Those on the seaboard looked eastward and sentiment followed trade to the British Isles and Europe. The inland Provinces were closely allied to the neighboring States of the American Union in matters of business no less than in outlook. Like the original Thirteen,

the racial origins of the northern British Provinces differed. The seaboard Provinces, the Maritimes as they were called, had been settled largely by migrating Scots and by refugees from the American Revolution. With its great French-speaking population Lower Canada, the Quebec of to-day, was unique. Its counterpart, Upper Canada, modern Ontario, was rapidly filling with enterprising Americans and with hopeful immigrants from Britain. Socially the Provinces were divided for, manifestly, there could be little community between the wealthy Nova Scotian shipowner and the rough frontiersman from Upper Canada.

In fact the British Provinces reproduced the sectionalism that had existed in the older American colonies. It was not merely that Lower Canada and New Brunswick differed, as New York and the Carolinas had done, but that various areas in Lower Canada had little in common. Although observable in all the Provinces, sectionalism was most pronounced in the Canadas. Along the St. Lawrence River and around the Great Lakes was an area which corresponded pretty well to the tide-water region of the old colonies. There access to the outer world was easy; there the population was well established and wealthy; there men regarded themselves more as Europeans than as Americans. But in the land back from the river and lake front, in the country "behind the ridges," as they said in Upper Canada, cut off from the world, with his horizons both mental and physical bounded by the primeval forest, dwelt a vastly different type. As elsewhere in America, sectionalism in the Provinces was much more than a geographical expression, it represented peoples of different origins; of different occupations; of different political views. It represented even different

periods of time for the older sections of Canada were still in the eighteenth century, while the frontier had advanced into the nineteenth.

Generalizations are always dangerous and to regard sectionalism as the sole cause of the Canadian insurrection would be superficial. The first quarter of the last century saw the beginning of the great struggle in the British Provinces between commerce and agriculture. The commercial empire, entrenched along the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes long antedated organized government. Indeed, it may be said to have antedated recorded discovery itself, for when Jacques Cartier visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, he found French and Basque fishermen plying their trade on the Grand Banks and in the nearby waters. Although the medium of commerce changed, since fish gave way to fur, and fur to timber, and timber to wheat, and wheat at long last to minerals and pulp, the structure of the empire remained practically unaltered. Trade plied up and down that unrivalled river and lake highway and had its citadels in the fur warehouses of Montreal and in the timber yards of Quebec. From these strategic centres, the aggressive Scots and Americans controlled a realm continental in magnitude that stretched from Labrador to California. Upon the fur and the timber trade the life of the Provinces hinged and the masters of the trade, conscious of their importance, dominated the country and bent the policies of government and the working of the law courts to their own ends.

It was not, however, only on the political ambitions of the commercial classes, that the economic struggle turned. The very system was changing, or at least undergoing profound modification. The long quarter-century of French Revolu-

tionary and Napoleonic Wars had put a premium on wheat-growing, and, as access to Russia had been difficult, British America became the granary of the Empire. Although the coming of peace in 1815 was a serious blow to Canadian farming, its position was more than recovered during the 'twenties when, under the leadership of Canning and of Huskisson and the liberal Tories, Canadian wheat was accorded preferential treatment on the British market. In the Canadas farming came into its own and began to challenge not simply the fur and the timber trade, but the very structure of the commercial state. Wheat knew no frontiers and the Canadian farmer could, and did, export much more cheaply by way of the Erie Canal and the Hudson River than by way of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route. Yet despite his increasing wealth and despite the growing importance of his industry in the national economy, the farmer found that the political control of the trader endured and that the legislatures of all the Provinces continued to favor commerce as against agriculture. And in the last analysis the struggle resolved itself into its familiar American elements, tide-water against back country, lake and river front against the lands behind the ridges.

In many respects the social cleavages of British America were merely the accentuations of the geographical and the economic. The favored dwellers down by the lake front were the early settlers and were, to a greater or a less degree, the subjects of the commercial state. The less favored dwellers inland were the recent immigrants either from the British Isles or the United States. In all the Provinces the mercantile element formed what it was pleased to describe as a local aristocracy. Yet it was an aristocracy of talent and achievement that admitted

to its ranks an odd assortment of pushing Scots, aggressive Americans, and wealthy French Canadians. Allied to the merchants were many of the descendants of the refugees of the American Revolution, the Loyalists of the Canadian history books. Recent research has done much to discount the pretensions of this particular group and, apart from providing some able administrators, the chief contribution of the Loyalists was to perpetuate a hatred of the United States and a distrust of democratic institutions.

A more lively animus against democratic institutions came from another source. The most powerful allies of the merchants were the government officials. Between them a natural affinity existed, the friends and confidants of His Excellency at Quebec were the great fur and timber merchants; the friends and confidants of the District Officials in far away Upper Canada were the local merchants. Tradition has taught us of one closely knit body under the name of "the Family Compact"; examination goes far to show that there was not one but many scattered throughout the countryside. In the decades following the "Great Peace of 1815" the colonial civil service was monopolized by old naval and military men. Excellent as many of these ex-officers were, they had the prejudices of their class and generation. To men who had given their youth fighting the American and their manhood opposing the French Revolutions, democracy and nationalism were anathema and treason. In America, they and their friends, the more wealthy immigrants, formed a powerful group which was completely out of harmony with the century and with the continent in which it found itself.

The back-country settler was of a vastly different class and frequently of a very different national origin. The great in-

flux of immigrants that came into the Provinces in their tens of thousands in the half century following Waterloo settled back from the lake and river fronts. They had little option in the selection of their lands since the best was already taken up by the earlier settlers or was preempted by land speculators. While some of these newcomers were comfortably off and came of a recognized social class, the majority were lower middle-class, small farmers, farm laborers, and workmen from the towns.

In the late 'thirties the advent of the Irish immigrant introduced a new element into the body social that was alien racially and desperately poor. As a group, both in social position and in wealth, the recent immigrants were outside the favored circle of the colonial oligarchs. Real as these distinctions were a century ago, they paled under the impact of American sectionalism. Unconsciously the settler was caught up in his environment and he speedily acquired those frontier characteristics which could be duplicated anywhere from the Ohio to the Ottawa valleys. That the frontier in the United States was psychological quite as much as geographical, few will deny. In the 'twenties and in the 'thirties the British Provinces had their frontiers in the inland counties of Upper Canada and along the southern boundary of Quebec. It is not difficult for us to realize the tremendous revolution that went on in a man's attitudes when he was transplanted from the uncertain position of a day laborer to the abundant life of the North American backwoods.

Circumstances conspired to bring the sections and the classes of the British American world into conflict. In any undeveloped country of great distances there are no problems of more moment to the common man than those of land-

holding and communications. An indulgent colonial administration and a supine provincial government had freely granted away vast tracts of land to its favorites and supporters. When were subtracted the Crown and the Clergy Reserves, the blocks of land held by the Canada and the British American land companies, the land occupied by the Loyalists, not to mention the patrimonies of the Honorable Jacques Baby or Colonel, the Honorable Thomas Talbot, what was left for *bona fide* settlers was relatively small. Moreover, while the great proprietors and the land speculators went free from regulation and not infrequently free from taxation, the immigrant found his acres hedged about all manner of restrictions and subject to very considerable settlement fees. Although the settler was compelled by the terms of his grant to clear a road across the front of his property, the speculator and the absentee landlord were not. And, added to this galling display of favoritism was the very real damage to the settler's property should it abut on one of these undeveloped holdings.

Equally oppressive if less glaringly obvious was the control the older sections of the Provinces exercised over communications. The crying need of Upper Canada was roads to serve the back settlements yet, for decades, the resources of the Province were squandered in the construction of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals to profit the business men of York and Kingston. In their most vital phases, the interests of the back-country man were sacrificed in order to give advantage to the fine people of the river front, and the back-country man knew it.

In lower Canada, the basic problem was hedged about with tantalizing complications. Down along the St. Lawrence dif-

ferences of race and of occupation cast their conflicting shadows across the struggle of commerce and agriculture. From the beginning of the century the business men and the farmers of the Province had been at variance. As the business man was usually a town-dweller and of British extraction while the agriculturalist was a country-dweller and French, the original issue was apt to become confused. The other elements of the population were soon drawn in, the commercial man was joined by the wealthy French Canadian and by the skilled artisans of the towns; the farmer found his allies among the newer and poorer immigrants and among the unskilled laborers. Yet in a particular way the British and French elements were brought into a direct conflict.

The British commercial men invaded the farmers' domain by themselves becoming farmers. The curious landholding system in vogue in Lower Canada, the feudal or seigneurial system, hastened this process. As the price of wheat rose, the commercial men began to buy out the French Canadian seigneur till, by 1837, it was reckoned that fully one-half the prosperous seigneuries in the Province were in the hands of British owners. The fate that overtook the French Canadian tenant farmer was most unhappy. It was not merely that he exchanged a familiar for an alien overlord, he lost an indulgent master and found a tyrant of efficiency. The British seigneur regarded his acquisition as a speculation, not as a trust; he introduced new and progressive methods of farming; he raised rents; he enforced the ancient and half-forgotten feudal obligations; with his control of the law courts he reduced the habitant from his position of that of tenant farmer to that of a day laborer. In the neighborhood of Montreal where the British seigneurs predominated, the Rebellion

was destined to find its largest number of recruits, not because the people were unusually contumacious but because the new economic system left them no alternative between resistance and starvation.

Nevertheless the social struggle in the Provinces involved other classes than the backwoods farmer and the plodding habitant. The professional man, the doctor, the lawyer, and the clergyman all felt the power of entrenched privilege. With a group so highly specialized it is obviously impossible to generalize; suffice it to say that the young lawyer or the immigrant doctor found themselves faced by old and powerful law and medical societies which enjoyed the protection of the Crown and which monopolized the really lucrative appointments within the Provinces. Controlled as they were by the older practitioners, these professional societies were closed corporations whose numbers were sparingly recruited from the wealthy and the conservative graduates of British schools. In Lower Canada where the brighter sons of the habitants all aspired to the learned professions, the country-side abounded in young and impecunious lawyers and doctors who ate out their hearts in idleness and want. In the sister Province the non-Anglican clergy were the chief sufferers. Not only were they outside the patronage of government, but, until the decade of the Rebellion, they were debarred by law from exercising some of their ordinary functions, they could not solemnize matrimony nor could they keep civil registers. In educational matters as well, the Protestant bodies were at a disadvantage since the money raised by the Province went to the support of Anglican schools. Outside that charmed circle the professional man suffered acutely and it is not surprising, therefore, that many of the most promi-

nent leaders and agitators were drawn from this class.

Such were the forces of social discontent and of economic inequality which produced the Rebellion in the Canadas. There were political conditions as well that operated in all the Provinces and especially powerfully in Upper and Lower Canada. There the population had rapidly outgrown, not simply the instrument, but the theory of government under which it lived. Enacted in 1790 by the Imperial Parliament, the Constitutional Act had envisaged a very moderate exercise of representative institutions. The human foundation, a carefully graded society, a native aristocracy, and a dominant church had failed to materialize and the constitution of the Provinces remained a fantastic eighteenth century survival in a nineteenth century world. By the 'thirties Canadians were demanding the full rights of responsible government upon contemporary English lines. It was the era of Grey and of Russell in Great Britain and of Andrew Jackson in the United States, and the people of the St. Lawrence valley were satisfied with no less than their kinsfolk had won. In the government were mirrored the dissatisfactions of the Provincials since the commercial groups dominated the Executive Council and the upper house of the Legislature. For years in Upper Canada, as late, indeed, as 1825, the same group was able to control the popularly elected Legislative Assembly.

Parliamentary emancipation had come earlier in Lower Canada where, by 1808, the Assembly was in revolt. But even there the policies of government were bent by the merchant, the banker, and by the great wholesalers of Montreal and Quebec. Nor were the governors themselves free from this baneful domination, for unskilled as most of them were in the

arts of parliamentary government, and ignorant of the Province, they were putty in the hands of their shrewd and daring advisers in the Executive and Legislative Councils. In matters of government, therefore, as in so many other activities, Canadians were made conscious of the rule of privileged groups, of "Family Compacts," as their opponents loved to call them.

Into these constitutional controversies the British government was increasingly drawn. As the ultimate authority it was called upon to adjudicate the quarrels of the angry colonials. As the originators of the constitution the officials in London were expected to supply appropriate schemes of amelioration and of reform. The success of the Imperial government in these rôles would have been greater, had the machinery of colonial administration been more sure. But, unhappily, the 1830's saw the Colonial Office at its lowest ebb. The Secretary of State for the colonies was the least regarded of the Cabinet officers and the duties of the department were usually discharged by its permanent officials. These men, drawn as they were from the ex-naval and ex-military officers of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, were obstinately opposed to anything that smacked of democracy or of nationalism. This was the body that supported the conservative and reactionary groups in the Colonies and made possible the long rule of the commercial and mercantile class in the Canadas. There is no greater fallacy in history than that the American Revolution produced a more liberal spirit in the administration of the British Empire. Liberation came only when the misrule of the Tory officials nearly precipitated a second revolution in Britain's remaining North American Provinces.

It was upon this troubled community

that commercial depression descended in the summer of 1837. That the depression did not originate in the Provinces meant little. As exporters of raw materials and of simple staples, they were quick to respond to business fluctuations in Great Britain and in the United States. The depression began, as is well known, in the United States. Overconfidence in the nation's future had led to an orgy of borrowing for roads, canals, and railways. Speculation and overspeculation followed, till early in 1837 the crash came. In the ensuing ruin both "westerner" and "easterner" fell through reeling depths of suspended payment and bankruptcy. The failure of the eastern banks involved English and Continental creditors who had turned eagerly, if ignorantly, to the United States, and the depression became international. The most usual concomitant of business retrogression—reduced purchasing power—was soon observed, and it was then that the British Provinces felt the pinch. Their timber and wheat exports fell off as construction came to an abrupt end in the United States and as economy became the rule of the day in Great Britain.

A whole train of dismal consequences now ensued to involve the Canadas in the general ruin. Depressed business meant reduced taxes, reduced taxes meant the suspension of the great public works, canal construction, harbor building, river deepening and road making, and in consequence, widespread unemployment. But, although construction ceased, costs continued, for the projects were financed on borrowed money and the demand for interest payments were inexorable. The wholesale merchant and the banker were soon enmeshed, for while their Old Country creditors were insistent, their up-country debtors were almost completely insolvent. Caught up in this wild

whirl of failure, foreclosure, and bankruptcy, the British Provinces veered sharply towards confusion and rebellion.

In its military phases, the Canadian Rebellion was not impressive. In the autumn of 1837 there was a good deal of reckless declamation on the part of the popular leaders, a number of protest meetings, and some covert drilling and arming. It was all very harmless, yet it alarmed the local authorities, and warrants were issued in Montreal and in Toronto. In the excitement thus provoked, rebellion broke out. There was some inconclusive skirmishing outside Toronto, followed by the precipitate flight of the Rebellion leaders and one or two clashes in the neighborhood of Montreal. However general dissatisfaction may have been, there were few outbreaks elsewhere, although for a year or more the Canadian border was kept in a state of apprehension by raids and forays from the United States.

The easy suppression of the Rebellion has tended to blind observers to its deeper significance. It is confidently asserted that as the bulk of the Provincials did not move there was little real discontent. It is also claimed that, because only certain classes and localities were disturbed, the conditions that produced the outbreak were local, or perhaps, personal. The reverse, however, is true, for the military events of the Rebellion, like their immediate antecedents, demonstrate the fundamental nature of the struggle. In Upper Canada the Rebellion found its leaders among the little group of professional men, like Mackenzie the publisher, and Duncombe the frontier doctor, who were goaded into violence by the Toronto office-holders. The rank and file were recruited from the inland sections of York County or from the immediate neighborhood of Colonel Talbot's patriarchal

holdings in what is now southwestern Ontario. It was not for nothing that the majority of the so-called rebels were to be found in "the land behind the ridges" or in the region controlled by one of the Province's largest landed proprietors.

In Lower Canada, the character of the struggle was even more clearly delineated. There "the rebel chiefs" were supplied almost exclusively from the educated, professional class who found themselves condemned to insignificance and poverty by the privileged "bureaucrats." Men like Dr. Chénier of St. Eustache, Dr. Wolfred Nelson of St. Denis, and young George Etienne Cartier, the Montreal lawyer, may be regarded as representative of the group. The body of the rebels was drawn principally from the habitants, the tenant farmers of the Richelieu valley. This was the region where the struggle between the old and new agriculture was most acute and where the unhappy small farmer was left to choose the bleak alternatives of economic extinction and rebellion. As in Upper Canada, the areas of dissatisfaction were of peculiar significance. The Richelieu valley, in addition to being the Province's best farming country, was also the traditional highway to the United States and a channel of American influence. That Montreal should be the scene of great disturbance is not surprising since the city was filled with French and English artisans struggling for employment. What went on in Montreal epitomized the struggle elsewhere. It was not primarily a racial clash, although occupations tended to range French and English on opposite sides. It was embittered by the great commercial and mercantile houses recruiting from their clerks and laborers bands of ruffians who intimidated Reformers and who marked French Canadians out for particular violence. It was

this calculated disturbance that gave the Provincial administration its excuse to intervene and to order the arrest of the popular leaders, the act which provoked the final explosion.

Contemporaries, it is well to observe, were under no delusion as to the character of the insurrection. They gave ample demonstration of this in the revenge they took on active rebels and on their sympathizers. Courts martial sat on the prisoners and handed down sentences—the death penalty; transportation to Australia; exile from the Province; confiscation of property; long terms of imprisonment. It is not a pleasant picture that is presented, for it was a case of Canadian condemning Canadian. Where leniency was shown, it was shown frequently at the behest of the British officers or officials who intervened between the Provincials and their victims. There is reason to believe that in Upper Canada, at least, the Tories took deliberate advantage of the heated state of public opinion to effect a purge of their political opponents. Rebel and reformer were synonymous terms and more than one man was sentenced to death or to transportation by an ignorant or prejudiced tribunal. In both Provinces, the friends of "law and order" turned with a cold ferocity on their opponents and instituted reigns of terror against those who differed from them. Political eccentricities they might have tolerated, but a movement directed against the economic and social structure of the Provinces could be quenched only in blood.

It was not without point, that while the Canadian Provinces whirled in a wild saraband of rebellion and repression, the seaboard colonies—Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick—remained undisturbed. It was not that the Provinces down by the sea had

escaped the contagion of hard times or the misrule of a self-appointed caste, but because their economic and racial framework differed radically from that of the inland regions. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century immigration had made Nova Scotia overwhelmingly Scots, to the complete inundation of the earlier American settlers. The Scots were not conservative, still less were they reactionary, but they had not acquired the frontiersman's independent and individualistic point of view. Reform in Nova Scotia was destined to come about by constitutional means, not by violence, as in the Canadas. In New Brunswick, the Loyalist oligarchy so completely dominated the Province that criticism was stifled almost before it could arise. Much the same was true in Prince Edward Island where the small immigrant population was too engrossed in a direct struggle with its surroundings to have any energy left to protest. Yet unquestionably the principal factor that made for peace in the Maritimes was that their trade went to the east, and that their contacts, as well as their outlook, were European, not American. The irrepressible conflict inherent in the Continent, in this way, passed them by.

It was in the neighboring United States that parallelism was to be found. Throughout 1837 the depression dragged out its weary course. The West defaulted and the East went bankrupt; employment fell; prices rose; mob violence flared out in the seaboard towns. The national government under Van Buren "stood pat" and austere refused to apply palliatives to the economic distress. Van Buren's deal was anything but new and at the succeeding presidential elections he, and his party, were unceremoniously drummed out of office by a disillusioned electorate. That happy circumstance, but much more,

the blind chance of geography, saved the United States from more serious consequences. The new West beyond the Appalachians was opening, and the defeated and the disillusioned from the eastern cities passed to a new land of promise. It is well to note that they found, not simply opportunity to begin life afresh, but opportunity in a world which they could design for themselves. The State governments were theirs for the making and in the region between the Mountains and the Mississippi they built a new America.

Of course, as every student of United States history knows, this process had been going on for some time and the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 may be regarded as the first emphatic declaration of it. Jackson was as much the product as the producer of the epoch, yet he did personalize the domestic revolution that made the common man a force and went far to destroy the governmental and commercial supremacy exercised by the older sections of the Nation. What passed under the vague phrase "Jacksonian democracy" was best demonstrated in the establishment of the new States beyond the Alleghenies. There was manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, and the absence of property or religious qualifications. On the positive side the new State constitutions provided amply for government aid to road and canal construction as well as the establishment of colleges and schools. This was the image of the new America, and it was this space in which to expand and in which to experiment that proved the salvation of the United States. These, too, were the aspects of the contemporary United States that fascinated Canadians. Their interest in the National Government was academic, their vital concern was with the State administrations of the new West

where the democratic ferment was strongest.

Such was the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. In both its antecedents and in its incidents it was a North American struggle whose counterpart could have been duplicated anywhere from the St. Lawrence Valley to the Gulf of Mexico. The conditions that produced the insurrection were economic and social in character and operated with equal force south, as well as north, of the International Boundary. While political and constitutional problems undoubtedly existed, they were secondary or merely served to accentuate the fundamental causes.

So much being admitted from the evidence it is legitimate to ask why the interpretation of the Rebellion as political or local struggle has so obstinately persisted. In the first instance it may be said that the chief actors in the Rebellion believed, or affected to believe, that they were engaged in a constitutional issue. Papineau and Mackenzie confidently asserted that their aim was to bring about a political or constitutional reformation that would produce a new British Ameri-

can world. That they were actually the leaders of embattled frontiersmen and of a desperate North American jacquerie neither appears to have recognized. Their Tory opponents were less naive for, although they advertised themselves as "constitutionalists," their actions showed that they were defending something more vital than a political *Status quo*. This original misconception as to the nature of the Rebellion has been difficult to overcome. Such an interpretation has the added advantage of providing easily recognized villains and heroes, with the consequence that a generation of commentators have written down Mackenzie, Rolph, Papineau, Nelson, Chénier, and the rest as traitors or martyrs. Canadian historians have scarcely deviated from this traditional story and have been content with a childish oversimplified explanation for what was, in reality, most complex. For, despite all assertions to the contrary, the Rebellion was the consequence of deep-seated discontents and of conflicting forces which were themselves inherent in the North American continent.

THE ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION AND SOUTHERN POVERTY

JAMES GILBERT EVANS

University of North Carolina

IN AMERICA today it is our democratic purpose to provide the essentials for individual and social welfare. Some of these essentials may be determined by quantitative measurement as material requisites for adequate diet, housing, recreation and health; others are qualitative, consisting of positive opportunities to develop and use individual capacities and to make choices in harmony with personal tastes and aptitudes.

Recent studies show wide variation in both the quantitative and qualitative elements of welfare within and between the regions of the Nation. The South is shown to represent the *Nation's economic problem number one* because its poverty is relatively more intense and more widely diffused. This condition is often considered evidence of a need for population redistribution through interregional migration. I should like to suggest some of the reasons why a net migration out of

the South would probably not be in the national interest.

If the South has the natural resources described in Howard W. Odum's monumental work, *Southern Regions of the United States*, why then should human resources be exported from the area? There is a confusion of thought on this question. It reflects, I presume, an even greater confusion of thought in the economic literature which has been relied on as a guide. The source of this confusion, it seems to me, is the widespread and persistent misunderstanding of the characteristics and implications of *economic equilibrium*. I shall try to describe briefly the nature of this misunderstanding.

To me economics is an integrated series of generalizations regarding the conditions under which given social objectives can best be achieved by the utilization of scarce resources through organized activity. According to this definition, economics is the theory of social efficiency in the apportionment and combination of resources in the production processes. The concept of economic equilibrium is simply a tool of thought used to describe ideal social efficiency.

If we accept the implications of democracy, what would be the outstanding characteristics of this kind of economic equilibrium?

First: Social efficiency requires that in every area all resources be fully utilized, that human resources be fully developed through education and training for economic activity, and that every useful extension of natural science shall be applied to production through the advance of technology.

Second: Efficient resource utilization implies a socially desirable balance throughout the nation between the needs of present and future generations, between the production of consumption goods and

capital equipment, between economic activity and leisure, and between the different kinds of goods produced.

Third: It would follow that to attain social efficiency, resources should be apportioned between the various industries and combined in the production processes in such a manner that a balance would be obtained between output and use and all units of output should be produced at the least possible resource cost. It would also follow that the regional distribution of industrial activity and hence the regional distribution of the population should be such as would minimize the resource cost of raw material concentration and finished product dispersion to consumers. Incidentally, a socially efficient location of economic activity requires that all transportation rates be based upon the cost of commodity movement.

It is the theory or explanation of this equilibrium which provides the techniques for evaluating the social effectiveness of a regional or national economy. In analyzing the extent and sources of regional variations in welfare, demographers have made proper use of this concept of social efficiency. They have compared levels of living and pointed out that the low productivity and consequent poverty of the South can be remedied only by combining better trained workers with more land, livestock, and equipment in agriculture, and more equipment and scientific processes in the development of other industries. They rightly conclude, furthermore, that national efficiency in the use of resources requires an equalization of welfare in all areas. But it does not follow that migration out of the South is necessary to attain welfare equalization, although such a conclusion may seem to be supported by the theory of equilibrium

as explained in much of our economic literature.

The source of difficulty lies in the manner in which economists have related equilibrium theory to existing economic behavior. Beginning its career as an exposition of a natural order, economics became identified in classical and neo-classical theory with an institutional framework, presumably characterized by "free enterprise" and "free markets," the attainment of equilibrium presumably resulting from the "free play of economic forces through the mechanism of pricing." The economic system was held to be self-adjusting through resource mobility and the pricing process; and the equilibrium thus attained would presumably reflect social efficiency in the use of resources. But the institutional framework which would harmonize social welfare with the results of the pricing process never existed, and the lack of harmony has steadily increased for many decades.

Nevertheless, economic literature has encouraged the false belief that the greatest good for the greatest number was being achieved under existing economic arrangements, and indeed could be achieved in no other way. In so far as the social efficiency equilibrium has been lost sight of, economics has failed to provide the demographers and other social scientists with the analytical tools which they need. It has failed to assume its proper role as the pathology of contemporary economic behavior. As a consequence, social scientists lack the foundation for an intelligent approach to population and other problems. "What we need," writes Professor C. E. Ayres of the University of Texas, "as the foundation of a new economic strategy, is a fresh, modern, scientifically sound idea of equilibrium."¹

¹"The Principles of Economic Strategy." *The Southern Economic Journal*, 5, p. 463 (April, 1939).

By a too ready acceptance of the economists' faith in the beneficence of existing institutional arrangements social scientists have been led into serious error. They have been led to believe that the present industrialized areas have had more real and more lasting advantages as a basis for development than in fact may have been the case; they have been led to believe that present trends in industrialization necessarily reflect adjustment toward social efficiency; they have been led to believe that present trends in industrialization also indicate the lines of future efficient development and thus prove the desirability of interregional migration.

Partly as a consequence of this misdirected emphasis in economic theory, social scientists have shown a lack of appreciation of institutional and technological relativity in dealing with regional variation in welfare. To illustrate this, let us consider this question of migration out of the South. In making a case either for or against migration, it is not enough merely to point to relative poverty. Low income must be explained. Is it a result of a socially crystallized labor and crop system in agriculture which has exploited both human and natural resources, a result of a delayed assimilation of available technology, a result of inadequate transportation facilities, including a discriminatory rate structure a result of scant educational opportunity, and similar institutional maladjustments? Or is the South's poverty a consequence of low income despite an efficiently organized agriculture with highly trained and efficient workers? Is there in the South as complete industrialization as the natural and technological resources will sustain?

Of course, we all are aware that the South has not made either a full or an intelligent use of its resources, that some of its economic arrangements have outlived

their usefulness, and that it has not been permitted to participate fully in the advantages of machine technology. It would therefore be sheer accident if the regional distribution of industrialization throughout the country now conforms with either the immediate or the long-run social efficiency equilibrium. We have permitted narrow vision, selfish interest, and chance too great a role in the development of our national economy to expect that happy result. Indeed, the maintenance of the South's comparative advantage in much of its agricultural and manufacturing production now rests upon the existence of poverty, and the region's institutions contribute to the maintenance of that poverty. Until the South is thoroughly reorganized in its utilization of resources and brought into the twentieth century technologically, we cannot know whether or not the population is too large. If it some day proved to be, then birth control probably is the only remedy, for the region has no special qualification as the seed bed of the Nation.

Under existing circumstances, migration from the South is very dubious social policy for we have absolutely no assurance that the institutional framework which now so successfully maintains poverty would cease to do so; *merely* a smaller population will not bring abundance. If the mythical free play of economic forces has failed to prevent regional inequality in welfare, we cannot expect mere migration to improve the situation.

Interregional migration in the past filled up the western lands and provided a labor force in the basic industries expanding in areas first to feel the impact of a continuing revolution in technology. There are no more lands to settle, and rates of industrial expansion in the past half-century are quite unreliable as a basis for prophesying future growth

because the economic development of an area must be related to the national and possibly the world economy. Its expansion is limited by its own resources and eventually by its long-run or permanent comparative advantage in the production processes. Probably some of our most highly industrialized areas should expand no more. Some of them may have developed as if other regions would never industrialize, so that industrial and population concentration in them has already been carried beyond their long-run comparative advantage. That may prove to be the situation in New England and we should not be surprised if that highly protectionist region should soon seek the advantages of a closer trade relationship with Canada. Perhaps even now as good a case can be made for migration from New England to the South as from the South to New England. In any case, it is sheer fantasy to extrapolate trends in industrial or urban expansion in any area without reference to its probable long-run position in the national economy.

In the future migration into any industrialized region should be viewed with misgiving. Every region has some poverty now and interregional migration could conceivably result in an equalization of poverty rather than of welfare. Furthermore, the population of the industrialized areas is still growing, probably as rapidly as reasonable employment opportunities are ever likely to expand in those areas. Indeed, as I read the story of technological progress during the past decade and study its impact upon employment in the industrialized regions, I feel quite certain that demographers should place no faith whatever in large-scale interregional migration as a solution of the Nation's number one economic problem. And those who live in the

areas of relatively high output per capita should and probably will vigorously oppose such migration into their midst.

Perhaps it is safe to predict that the present lack of full employment will not be permitted to become a permanent characteristic of the economy. If not, and we enter a period of output expansion, will not the present industrial and population pattern be extended? It would depend, of course, upon the methods used to break the present impasse, how blindly the economic forces were permitted to operate. If we resort to extreme credit inflation, the present pattern would undoubtedly be extended, while the boom lasted. If, however, we legislate an industrial expansion program involving a degree of national planning, a different pattern of industry might eventually develop. The question then arises "What sort of industrial pattern would in the long run best promote the efficiency of the national economy?" *No one knows.* We desperately need a knowledge of the broad outlines of a social efficiency equilibrium, if we are to formulate wise demographic and other economic policies. Of course, a detailed blueprint is impossible because not enough facts are available, and were one made, it would soon be obsolete in a dynamic society. But, if the attainment of social efficiency is approached as a problem in the national management of resource utilization, it would be possible, I believe, to describe the essential features of a national economy in which there was effectively coordinated development within and between industries and within and between regions. This, it seems to me, is the first and fundamental task of a national planning board.

Even with the knowledge of a socially efficient pattern of the distribution of industry which a planning board might

furnish, we could not expect adequate readjustment along desirable lines without a great expansion in enterprise under the guiding activity of the Federal Government. Unless there is such activity I doubt that the necessary enterprise functions will be performed; the South will not become sufficiently industrialized and the national economy will not make either a full or a coordinated use of its resources.

There are two reasons why Federal action is imperative: The first is that industrial expansion on a large scale will be accompanied by a declining rate of return on both old and new investment, because capital equipment must increase much more rapidly than the number of workers employed, while the consumption of the output is contingent upon lower prices and thus higher real wages for all workers. In the industrial expansion of the South, the return on investment can be only very moderate for the increased output must be largely consumed within the region, requiring rising levels of living through low prices and full, efficient employment. This will not occur, in my judgment, under the present corporate economy, because corporate management is directed toward the protection of capitalizations through price maintenance and output restriction.

The second reason why collective action through the State is imperative is that in the South and in the Nation as a whole, expansion must take place simultaneously in all phases of industry, the enterprise function must be coordinated on a large scale. The South and other agricultural areas cannot now be industrialized through spontaneous individualistic enterprise as other regions were in the nineteenth century, because small-scale local enterprise cannot achieve efficiency in production or trading position in markets in a struggle with large corpora-

tions. The industrialization of backward areas must spring into being relatively full-blown. Competitive enterprise, even if it could be obtained by breaking up monopolies, would not prove equal to the task.

Nevertheless a drastic change in the organization of the American economy is neither necessary nor possible. Economic systems are not chosen and installed full-fledged with appropriate ceremonies. They never exist in purity of form and they are constantly in a state of flux. What we call capitalism, regardless of the particular brand, developed gradually through an adjustment of economic institutions to needs of past generations. Name it what you will the economic system of the future

will represent similar adjustment. The changes which we must make in our economy, if the enterprise function is to be satisfactorily performed, will make use of the forms of organization and control with which we have already had experience. Eventually they will involve the extension of the principles of scientific management to intra-industrial and inter-industrial operation.

It is the function of social science to aid in the removal of institutional impediments, to the attainment of an economic equilibrium under which resources are continuously, efficiently, and fully utilized in every region of the Nation. Migration is not a remedy for institutional maladjustment.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL GRANTS

Eighty-five awards, totalling more than \$95,000.00, for the academic year 1940-41, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York. The awards provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, political, social and economic history, cultural anthropology, social psychology, geography, and related disciplines.

Twelve of the awards, carrying a basic stipend of from \$1800 to \$2500, plus travel allowances, cover post-doctoral research training fellowships to men and women under thirty-five years of age who possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent. These fellowships are granted for the purpose of enlarging the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists through advanced study and field experience.

Seventeen appointments are pre-doctoral field fellowships which carry a basic stipend of \$1800. The recipients are graduate students under thirty years of age who have completed all the requirements of the Ph.D. degree except the thesis. These fellowships are intended to supplement formal academic study by opportunity for direct contact with the materials of social science not available in the classroom or library.

The remaining fifty-six awards are research grants-in-aid, designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way. Such grants average about \$600 and do not ordinarily exceed \$1000. Eight of these appointments were made through a special fund specifically granted for the purpose of assisting and encouraging the research of social science faculties in the South. The objectives and requirements for eligibility are the same as those governing the national grants-in-aid, but applications are restricted to fourteen southern states.

Of the total number only six appointees will engage in foreign travel—one to China, one to Great Britain, one to Guatemala, one to Bolivia, one to Brazil and Argentina, and one to the British West Indies.

Southern grants-in-aid were awarded to Thomas S. Berry, Duke University; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Wayne Dennis, University of Virginia; Weymouth T. Jordan, Judson College; James E. Pate, College of William and Mary; Ira De A. Reid, Atlanta University; Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University; Francis B. Simkins, Farmville State Teachers College. Other grant-in-aid recipients from southern institutions include: Claude A. Campbell and Mary R. Campbell, University of Oklahoma; Rudolph Heberle, Louisiana State University; Robert K. Merton, Tulane University; Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University; Herbert von Beckerath, Duke University; Reinhold P. Wolff, University of Miami.

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INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES. FOUR CENTURIES OF THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE. By Clark Wissler. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1940. 319 pp. \$3.75. Illustrated.

ACCULTURATION IN SEVEN AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES. Edited by Ralph Linton. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. 526 pp. \$4.00.

Here are two volumes which are concerned with that perennially interesting topic, the American Indian, but concerned in quite different ways. Wissler tells, for the general reader, the story of the Indian and the frontier, emphasizing

the modifications in Indian life, the struggles with the whites, and life on the reservation. Linton presents, to a more professional audience, seven studies of acculturation in selected American Indian tribes made by co-workers at Columbia University, and on the basis of these and other studies takes stock of what we now know about acculturation in general.

Wissler's account is largely restricted to the Indians of the United States during the last four centuries, but the reader will find the prehistoric period surveyed in up-to-date fashion, with recent archaeological discoveries in Alaska, Colorado, and Tierra del Fuego placed in historical perspective. In this survey Wissler introduces us to a new culture, that of the "Stone Boilers," early Indians in the Northwest who, without pottery, nevertheless learned to cook their food in baskets and wooden boxes by means of hot stones. More familiar peoples, the mound builders, cliff dwellers, and others pass in review, their mysteries gradually vanishing with the discoveries of the archaeologist.

Wissler surveys the historical period by following the fortunes of the great linguistic families: Algonkin, Iroquois, Siouan, Muskogean, and others lesser known. Here his emphasis is on those tribes which were strong enough to resist for a time the tide of expansion, and the great personalities which that struggle engendered—Pontiac, Black Hawk, Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Sequoya, Chief Joseph, and many others. A final section considers Indian life in general and its modifications at the hands of the white man, both before and after the establishment of reservations.

The volume edited by Linton represents an important step in the solution of the problems arising from these Indian-white

contacts. Acculturation and assimilation have turned out to be not automatic processes, but highly selective ones, and it has become increasingly important that we understand and control the factors involved in these processes. Seven studies of acculturation among particular Indian tribes are presented, so far as possible, in terms of a common frame of reference. These studies embrace a wide range of tribes—the Puyallup Indians of Washington by Marian W. Smith, the White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada by Jack Harris, the Southern Ute by Marvin K. Opler, the Northern Arapaho by Henry Elkin, the Fox Indians by Natalie F. Joffe, the Alkatcho Carrier of British Columbia by Irving Goldman, and the San Ildefonso of New Mexico by William Whitman. The professional ethnologist will welcome these accounts for the new information they contain—for some of these groups we have here our first detailed accounts of their culture. Further they offer an unique opportunity for comparative study, and when more accounts are available along similar lines it will be possible to develop generalizations about the processes and effects of culture contact which will have a high degree of validity.

Professor Linton's main contribution takes the form of a general discussion of acculturation with particular reference to the processes of culture transfer and culture change, rather than a detailed comparison of the studies of acculturation presented in the body of the volume. This analysis of the general processes of culture change is excellent but heavily weighted on the psychological side. According to Linton "the basic processes of culture change are the individual psychological ones of learning and forgetting. Its basic stimuli lie in the discomfort or discontent of a society's members which make them willing to change their ways"

(pp. 481-2). While this sounds reasonable, anthropologists are seldom equipped to operate on this level—none of the studies in this volume, for example, offer data on these points—and even the psychologists have not yet gotten very far with these problems.

Of equal interest to social scientists are the *results* of acculturation, and here Linton finds "mutual modifications and adaptations" as the only constant phenomena. This, however, seems a function of the newness of this field—when there are enough studies so that we can classify various types of culture contact, and control to some extent the factors involved, we may expect greater uniformities to appear.

Any criticism of these volumes must take into account the purposes of the author. In a volume aimed at the general reader the tendency is to be dogmatic; this Wissler has generally avoided. He has, however, tried to crowd far too many facts into his pages, which has resulted in a sacrifice of readability and style. The primary purpose of the volume on acculturation is to make available information on the acculturation process, and this within the space allotted is excellently done. A comparative study of these cases would be highly desirable, both to indicate what can be done along such lines and to suggest further problems for investigation. The interested reader may want to try his hand at such a comparative study.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS. By Edwin R. Embree. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. 260 pp. \$2.75. Drawings by Howard Grieg.

In the author's note which concludes his *Indians of the Americas*, Mr. Embree states his purpose and his method. Both

purpose and method should be taken into consideration in evaluating the book. Mr. Embree is not a specialist writing for other specialists but an intelligent student of society who presents the Indians of North and South America to ordinary readers.

Mr. Embree states his purpose as that of providing "an American history written not around the colonists and immigrants but around the native Americans" and he expresses the hope that the book "may increase our knowledge and appreciation of our Indian heritage, and so strengthen our pride in the varieties which make up the American pageant of peoples."

Any one who has attempted to present people of another culture to the ordinary reader will appreciate the difficulty of Mr. Embree's task. In the first place, not even the trained student finds it easy to put himself in the place of an Indian who first saw a white man, much less to verbalize about it without making the Indian sound like a grown-up child. The problem continues when one attempts to describe the alien culture, for, if an objective, non-evaluative description is given, the untrained reader will make his own ethnocentric evaluation, while an attempt to present the best in the alien culture will likely create an impression of the "noble savage."

It is evident that Mr. Embree has faced these difficulties and that he has made a sincere attempt to avoid a sentimental glorification of the Indians' past and at the same time to present the various aboriginal cultures sympathetically and from the point of view of the Indians themselves.

Indians of the Americas covers a wide field and, in order to be sure that his descriptions and interpretations were accurate, Mr. Embree submitted each

chapter of his text to some anthropologist or other specialist in the particular area under consideration.

There are several distinctive features of the book. It has the advantage of picturing the outstanding Indian groups of both continents, and among the numerous drawings which illustrate the text there are several maps showing culture areas, linguistic divisions, and the location of tribes. A presentation of this sort should do much to dispel the generalized composite of buckskin and feathers, tomahawks and scalps, wigwams and visions of the happy hunting ground which seems to stand for the Indian in the minds of most Americans. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that the treatment throughout is from the Indians' point of view, and that the reader is led to enter sympathetically into experiences that are alien to his own culture.

There is no bibliography and the author expresses regret that it seemed impossible to make up a list of books that are both authoritative and interesting to the general reader. It is true that such books are not numerous but there are some titles which would be of interest to those readers who would like to follow Mr. Embree's introduction with more intensive or more detailed studies. Radin's *The Story of the American Indian* and Verill's *American Indian Civilizations* are popular accounts by competent anthropologists. There are also regional and tribal accounts of a popular nature such as Goddard's *Indians of the Southwest* and *Indians of the Northwest Coast*, Mead's *Old Civilizations of Inca Land*, and the sketches of various tribes in Murdock's *Our Primitive Contemporaries*. Even the more technical accounts such as Lowie's *Crow Indians*, and the survey accounts by Clark Wissler are not beyond the interest level of many lay readers.

While Mr. Embree does not suggest

that he had youthful readers in mind there is very little in *Indians of the Americas* that an intelligent twelve year old boy might not read with interest and profit. The book should therefore prove a useful and attractive addition to school libraries as well as a popular presentation for the general reader of older years.

INA CORINNE BROWN

Washington, D. C.

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL CHANGE. By Newell L. Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1939. 477 pp. \$3.50.

This recent product of Sims' pen states in the Preface that in his two score years of teaching experience the need has been great for "a handbook of sufficient simplicity, breadth of scope, and scientific soundness to aid the student in the systematic organization of the data of social change." Thus Sims plainly states that his purpose is to produce a textbook on social change. His purpose has, in the main, been well accomplished. The author has produced a volume which has excellent potentialities as a guide through the maze of conflicting and oftentimes contradictory statements of the phenomenon of social change. It seems best adapted to the college senior. This text will be useful to the advanced undergraduate in any social science department in which social change is considered. Its subject matter is broader than that of any one social science department. Sims' mode of expression and style of writing are clear, if not always concise.

Sims divides his treatment into the following four parts: I. Historical Aspects of Social Change; II. Natural Factors in Social Change; III. The Nature of the Social Order and Change; IV. The Process of Social Change. To the reviewer Part I is least valuable. This part is more factual hence less interpretative. Its

movement of thought is a bit labored, at times verging on didacticism. The author makes his greatest and most original contribution in interpreting the process of social change in Part IV.

Social scientists will not agree with Sims on all points. To expect such at this stage in the development of the social sciences is to expect the impossible. A few points at which some will differ with him are here indicated. (1) On page 32 he states that generally the liberal believes human nature to be unchangeable. Is there sufficient evidence to warrant this generalization? (2) On page 111 Sims states that a study of migration in Kansas "seems definitely to establish the fact that a disproportionate number of the most capable do migrate and leave those of average and inferior intelligence in the country." Compare this conclusion, which Sims accepts, with a statement from Otto Kleinberg's article in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 223 to wit, "The main conclusion from this series of studies is that there is in general no indication that migrants as a whole are superior to non-migrants as a whole." (3) Subjectivism seems to have cast its spell over Sims when he states on page 311 that throughout man's history he has been preoccupied with material things. Could students of cultural anthropology, the history of religions and comparative religion agree with this statement?

Two of the most stimulating chapters of the book are Chapter X, *The Automatic Process [of Social Change]* and Chapter XI, *The Purposive Process*. With perception and a skill approaching consummate craftsmanship, Sims, in Chapter X, interprets the various mechanistic theories in the general tradition of Spencer, Sumner and Keller. These theories are highly significant as they seem to stand

with elbows akimbo set and laugh to scorn the struggling, hot-brained social planners of today. But if the automatic social process theories strike terror into the heart of the zealous social planner who may be reading Sims, he need not suffer long, for in Chapter XI he will find strength and encouragement in the ideas of no less a social thinker than Lester Frank Ward, the great exponent of purposive effort. The purposive banner is carried forward apace by Ellwood and concurred in by Sims who concludes "it is obvious that purposively directed change is indispensable." Chapter XII, *Social Progress*, is especially commended for consideration by the social planners who are rapidly increasing in the American scene.

Sims closes his work with an interpretation of the Authoritarian-Liberal Cycle. His treatment is especially timely in the light of the steady march of government, the world over, toward centralization. Will localism survive or will the new Leviathan completely swallow it?

LINDEN S. DODSON

University of Maryland

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE. By T. Lynn Smith.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939. 595 pp.
\$3.50.

This book is styled for students taking their first course in rural sociology. The introductory section presents a definition of science and differentiates the urban and rural worlds following Sorokin and Zimmerman. Part II is devoted to the rural population, being chiefly an analytical, statistical description of bio-social and demographic traits. Part III is a study of social organization which covers man-land relationships—settlement patterns, land division, land tenure; person to person relationships—differentiation, stratification; and social institutions—family,

church, the school, and government. Historical description is the principal method employed. Part IV is a discussion of social processes dealing with competition and conflict, cooperation, accommodation, assimilation and acculturation, and social mobility. Classification of process forms is the center of interest except in the chapter on mobility which deals with social relationships. Part V is a brief concluding chapter.

This book may be analyzed first from the standpoint of its fundamental assumptions and the consistency with which they are maintained, and second, from the standpoint of its probable usefulness as a basic textbook in rural sociology. It is a unified systematic treatment of the biological, structural, organizational framework of rural society and its environment, by means of statistical, historical, and case data, science having been defined in the first chapter primarily in terms of classification and systematization of tested knowledge. The author has accomplished well what he has set out to accomplish in this respect. The book is weak in its interpretation of rural behavior, in its analysis of the functioning of rural organizations and institutions, and in interpreting social relationships, and lacks somewhat in timeliness when compared with several of the more recent introductory general sociology textbooks which recognize that change, invention, diffusion, and similar processes by which culture is modified are as important to social analysis and an understanding of social interaction as the classical social process concepts—competition, conflict, cooperation, and accommodation.

The mention in the concluding chapter of the topics of cultural change, revolutionized methods of communication, and the speeding up of the process of

diffusion raises the interesting methodological problem of whether social organization in rural America can be adequately understood without a greater recognition of these influences as they have recently affected the orientation of rural life. Scientific sociology as conceived in most parts of the book seems to embrace classification and organization, but not sequences and relationships.

The book has unusual merits as a text, and in the reviewer's judgment puts introductory textbook writing in rural sociology on a new and higher level. It integrates well fact with theory. It is written in a clear, simple, concise style. It is well illustrated by charts, half-tones, graphs, and case materials. Data are interestingly and naturally woven into the text. It is a finished piece of work. At many points the author has broken new ground. An evaluative, critical sense is maintained in using data. It is without rural or urban bias. At most points a framework of sociological concepts is maintained, which has been lacking in most rural texts. The bibliography of more than 600 titles will be helpful. Characteristics which may limit its usefulness as a text are: It is not well balanced, some 160 pages being given to population, most of them to bio-social traits, but only 17 pages to the family, a part of which deal with a general history of the family. At several points data lack significance because they deal with total rather than rural situations. Interest centers about the plantation of the rural South. The absence of a treatment of dynamic aspects of rural culture and rural society limits the value of the work in understanding rural life in the United States today.

PAUL H. LANDIS

State College of Washington

THE FAMILY AND ITS SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. By Ernest R. Groves. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940. 631 pp. \$3.50.

This book presents a penetrating analysis of the major functional aspects of family life in its relation to the cultural setting of which it is a vital part. As such, it is a real contribution to a phase of the study of the family that has been neglected or treated all too casually in previous books. This text is obviously intended for the advanced student who already has some knowledge of the internal organization and major problems of the contemporary family.

The purpose of this book, as stated in the introductory chapter, "... is to deal with the family not in its inner workings as this stands by itself... but to seek in familial experience a considerable portion of the structure, the incentive, and the energy of society." (p. 16) The way in which this aim is realized may be indicated by a few brief comments concerning the content and organization of the book. Although no such divisions are set forth in the table of contents or elsewhere, it falls into three rather distinct parts.

Part one (chapters II-VI) is a systematic treatment of the essential motives underlying family organization. The basic impulses discussed include self-preservation, sex and reproduction, the power urge or the struggle for authority or prestige, the social urge, and the religious urge. The last is a cover-all term designating a spiritual drive toward security and idealism. These urges find expression in a series of social incentives that are all related to the fundamental problems of survival and self-maintenance.

Part two (chapters VII-XII) is concerned with the family support of culture which is "based upon the necessity of using group resources in the human

effort to survive." (p. 162) The activities of the family are viewed as an expression of the fundamental life-principle—adjustment. Following an analysis of the interrelations of the family and formal institutions in general, a chapter each is devoted to the family support of government, education, sex status, and religion. The treatment in each case is vivid and illuminating.

Part three (chapters XIII-XVIII) analyzes the interactions within the family as they are affected by external social and cultural factors. The societal influences upon the internal functioning of the family as a group and upon the socialization of its members are treated in considerable detail. Particular attention is paid the emotional characteristics, aggressive mechanisms, defensive mechanisms, and the clash of loyalties within the family as they are involved in the adjustment of family members to each other and to the larger life situation confronting them. The chapter on *The Environmental Sensitiveness of the Family* treats the principles underlying the responses of the family to the environmental setting, both physical and social, in which it has its being. Included is an analysis of a selected number of environmental changes to which the family has reacted in recent times.

Two of the last three chapters (XIX-XXI) present an able summary, organized topically with reference to subject-matter and approach, of the evolution of social thought concerning the family. This material provides a sort of bird's-eye view of the range and development of the more significant literature on the subject.

The final chapter, *The Future of the Family*, is an interpretation of general trends and an effort to forecast the future of the family. The author unequivocally contends that the family will continue

as long as the human race survives. This is based on the apparent persistence of certain elements in the family complex, including the sexual, the economic, the companionship, and the parenthood elements. No effort is made to predict the forms that the family may take as time passes. The conclusion reached is: "A well-secured civilization . . . shows its strength through the quality of family life that it has brought forth and protects. The future of the family, therefore, will be determined by the future of the civilization in which it is imbedded. At no time in human history were there more resources than at present for the building of wholesome family life or for making it the means of advancing human welfare." (p. 594) This is, of course, definitely evaluative. What constitutes a "well-secured civilization" or "wholesome family life" depends upon the value-system one accepts. While present resources for family stability are greater than ever before, there is perhaps more family instability than in any previous period in human history.

Throughout the book the technical analyses are supported and illustrated with biological and anthropological data, skillfully woven into the discussion without the frequent error of oversimplification. In addition, the author has drawn upon his own wide knowledge of contemporary family life and upon his long experience as a teacher and family counsellor. The book is written in a clear and easy-flowing style that makes it attractive reading. The appendix includes highly suggestive subjects for reports and topics for discussion. The absence of reference lists is explained in a note which points out the desirability of using up-to-date bibliographies; these the author agrees to provide annually at very small cost.

E. W. GREGORY, JR.

University of Alabama

A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS NEW ENGLAND. By Jonathan Daniels. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. 385 pp. \$3.00.

A gentle iconoclast whose words can sting even through their shrewd good humor and orally informal peripatetics, Jonathan Daniels did a classic journalistic job of "discovering" the South some two year ago. Now he turns the scalpel of his realistic eye and glib pen, that did such an expert dissection of Dixie, on a section of the country generally considered antithetical to the South, but a section in which Daniels discovered, paradoxically, a multitude of similarities. New England is not "exposed" by him; New England exposes itself through him as a reporter.

Yale University, Nantucket, the Great Hurricane, Amoskeag, Plymouth Rock, the climate, the skiing craze, sad and shabby Boston, the Irish and the Portuguese and the Polacks and the real, genuine article of the Yankee, and over all the forbidding shadow of economic Fear and the concrete reality of WPA—these march through *A Southerner Discovers New England* in a hodge-podge highlighted by a certain naked grimness. Daniels is a reporter *par excellence* who is not misled by statulent chamber of commerce statistics or by the bluff and empty optimism of professional New Englanders. In fact, he found a shrugging acceptance of the truth prevailing pretty generally; even the normally ebullient secretaries of the chambers left off their customary superlatives and made at any rate a pretense of dealing in facts instead of in that commodity of which we hear so much today—wishful thinking.

For a section of the country at least in theory deprived of its manufacturing birth-right by Southern enterprise blandly exploiting Southern poverty and Southern inarticulation, New England is surprisingly tolerant of Dixie, Daniels dis-

covered. Or perhaps "condescending" is a more apt adjective. Dr. Royal Farnum of Rhode Island told the Southerner, in a discussion of textile schools and industrial skills: "I'm not afraid that many more mills are going [to the South]. We've got the best labor up here. . . . Why, I went South and saw the Southern workers. When the mountaineers give out it will be all over. I never saw such poor people. I saw them around Asheville traveling in overalls, and their overalls were all they had. They'll work for anything. But when they begin to feel as our workers do, that electric refrigerators and things like that are necessities of life, the differences in the wages will disappear. I'm not disturbed by the South. The textile industry will either go to Brazil or come back to New England."

All of which sounds as though the Southerner who had already discovered the South went to New England only to discover more about the South. But he discovered a great deal about New England, too, and it is dutifully chronicled in Daniels' fluid, graceful prose which so charmed in his recital of an earlier voyage of discovery. He discovered that Boston bankers were lending money and sending machinery and men to Southern textile enterprises even as they "cried out against Southern competition." Other industries, in a grim sense perhaps the munitions industry, offer something of a parallel in their "disloyal" ramifications, all in the names of the great gods Expediency and Profit. And New England, though she has taken devastating economic punishment the past few decades, still appears to have the same veneration for those gods that the South—or the West—displays.

The vaunted erudition of New England—one of the area's most highly advertised

assets and one that usually magnifies the realistic Southerner's inferiority complex where his native land is concerned—was all that and more, Daniels found. Even the CCC boy he picked up (Polish strain) talked well and was admirably mannered. Daniels found a gracefulness and warmth in New England that struck far deeper into the pattern of its living—even amidst a new and prevailing poverty and insecurity—than the more rococo manifestations of it in the great universities, the writers' and artists' colonies, and in what are left of the Brahmins.

Tobacco Road was in New England, too, especially in Maine. "It is a poor land there on the St. John. You can see the poverty there as you can see it in the South. You can see it when a boy grins, in his rotten teeth." And anti-Semitism was there, a slowly rolling tide seeming to gather momentum. And the Negro was still a Negro, even as he is down South, though he wears a coat more often, reads books and knows his polysyllables. Boston, "capital of dilemma," and Hartford, "white-collar world," got a thorough going-over. But no matter how severe their straits, certain New Englandisms persist, to Daniels' admiration—manifested especially in such holy virtues as that of thrift. They're still a thrifty race, in the teeth of fast-ebbing sectional fortune.

This is a wise book, a clever book, a realistic book. Muck-raking is there, but it is injected painlessly and it slips up on the reader before he is aware of it. There is nothing savage or crusading in its pages, and one has the opinion that Daniels would shudder if one attempted to read a reformer-purpose in his deft composition. He avoids starkness as nimbly as he does sentimentalism or sensationalism; yet New England emerges

from his pages "discovered" with a disconcerting nudity.

ROBERT M. HODGES

University of North Carolina

REPORT OF THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE COLLEGE TRAINING OF RECREATION LEADERS. Minneapolis, Minn.: Farnham Printing and Stationery Company, 1939. 64 pp. \$.55.

CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY. Vols. 1-4. Project sponsored jointly by the Chicago Recreation Commission and Northwestern University, conducted under the auspices of WPA, NYA, and the Illinois Emergency Commission, Arthur J. Todd, Chairman. Chicago: Clarke-McElroy Publishing Company, 1937. Vol. 1, 147 pp. Vol. 2, 167 pp. Vol. 3, 167 pp. Illustrated.

EUROPE AT PLAY. By L. H. Weir. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1937. 589 pp. \$10.00. Illustrated.

AMERICA LEARNS TO PLAY. A HISTORY OF POPULAR RECREATION, 1607-1940. By Foster Rhea Dulles. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. 441 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.

TRAINING FOR RECREATION. By Dorothy I. Cline. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. 130 pp.

RECREATIONAL RESEARCH. By G. M. Gloss. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1940. 63 pp. \$1.00.

The outstanding works in the field of recreation in the past few months have leaned toward the field of research. There are a number of national groups now devoted to the study of recreation, leisure, group work, and leadership training. The College Conference on the Training of Recreation Leaders which has had two meetings, one at the University of Minnesota and another at the University of North Carolina, have printed reports. The Chapel Hill Conference report has recently come from press. The report indicates trends in graduate curricula in recreation training and includes specific reports of committee studies in undergraduate curricula, graduate curricula, work in teacher training, administration and organization, training methods, the

coordination of college and recreation agencies, studies and research.

This Conference is made up of an informal group of physical educators, sociologists, social workers, group educators, agency representatives, and practitioners in recreation. The next meeting is proposed for January 1941 at New York University.

The Association of Leisure Time Educators, the National Training Committee of the Society of Recreation Workers of America, the National Recreation Association, the American Association for the Study of Group Work, the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, and a number of government agencies including the Work Projects Administration, the National Youth Administration, the Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, and the National Parks Service are all engaged at the present time in some research and study of specific recreation situations, problems, and procedures.

A study of far-reaching importance and undoubtedly the most thorough to be made up to this time is the *Chicago Recreation Survey* printed in four volumes, a project sponsored jointly by the Chicago Recreation Commission and Northwestern University and conducted under the auspices of the WPA, NYA, and the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.

Volume 1 deals with the planning and historical aspects of public recreation, administrative aspects of public recreation, and public recreation facilities and programs. The study is detailed in every respect and complete with charts, diagrams, and maps. Volume 2 considers the field of commercial recreation including the scope, regulation, licensing, and control of commercial recreation. It then takes up the individual fields of commercial recreation, paying special

attention to the motion picture theatre, the radio, the legitimate theatre, concert, stage, opera, billiard and bowling games, the field of sports, clubs, various types of racing, musical recreation, rental libraries, sightseeing tours, observatories, excursions, conventions and the like. Amusement parks receive special consideration. Attention is also concentrated on commercialized vice. The field of recreation has had no survey of commercial recreation commensurate to this study. It could well serve as a pattern for further study on the part of other municipalities.

Volume 3 takes up the field of private recreation dealing especially with settlements, community centers, religious agencies, boys' clubs of all types, activities for girls, fraternal organizations, social clubs, athletic organizations and the field of art, music, literature and drama. In volume 4 the city of Chicago is divided into community areas and a complete and detailed account including maps, pictures, and statistical information about each area is given. This study including the four volumes can well form the pattern for future surveys of a recreational nature. They will undoubtedly prove of inestimable value to the administrator, the organizer, and the trainer in the field.

A. S. Barnes and Company has published *Europe at Play*, a study of recreation and leisure time activities by L. H. Weir. Mr. Weir is connected with the National Recreation Association and spent a number of years in Europe on this study. The volume is limited in edition to 1000 copies. It is the most comprehensive study of the recreation of a people compiled into one volume. Emphasis is given to factors and motives in the recreational movement in Europe, and also to planning as related to recreation areas and facilities. The main division of the book consists of physical education activities, areas, and

facilities. The author does not take each country separately but divides the field of recreation into various activities and presents a picture of each activity as found in the different countries. Full attention is given to the cultural uses of leisure and there is special attention to the Youth Hostel Movement and to Nature study.

Under the various forms of government in Europe we find a number of unusually interesting recreational organizations such as the *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy) movement in Germany, the *L'opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* movement in Italy and the former excellent organization in Czechoslovakia called the *Sokol*. Other countries have their special movements and each one is presented in the volume. The book is complete with photographs from each country and special features related to nationality groups.

Some years ago Dr. Jesse F. Steiner developed a monograph, *Americans at Play*; this with C. E. Rainwater's *Play Movement in the United States* and the volume by Mr. Dulles gives us a complete picture of recreation in this country. Just from press is Foster Rhea Dulles' *America Learns to Play*, a history of popular recreation from 1607 to 1940. Mr. Dulles has brought forth in a most attractive style a fascinating study of leisure since the days of the colonies. He begins with the settlers at Jamestown and weaves a story through Puritan attitudes, the development of urban life, the opening of the West, the plantation days of the South, the Reconstruction Period, and on up to the play movement of the present day. The depression has brought a new challenge to leisure and it constitutes today a vital issue to democracy. The book is profusely illustrated with reproductions of old prints, paintings, play bills and the like. This volume will be added to those of Steiner, Rainwater and Weir to

aid in the building of a better understanding of the leisure time of a people.

The field of leadership training is now receiving a great deal of attention. Dorothy I. Cline has brought from press a monograph entitled *Training for Recreation*. This work is a result of her experience with the WPA. The book is a vivid study of in-service training programs and methods for community recreation leaders. It has admirably combined material dealing with problems of public administration and the basic concepts of a leisure program. The two sections devoted to training methods and aids to training constitute the best accepted procedures that are being utilized today for in-service advancement. The book offers a fine opportunity for leadership to become abreast of the newer methods now being utilized. Everyone interested in this particular field should certainly survey the work which Miss Cline has done and bring into the various programs throughout the country the results of her research.

In Chapter V, "Looking Forward," Miss Cline attempts to show the way into further specialization, experimentation, research, pre-entry training, and the definite services of government to recreation. It is hoped that Miss Cline will continue her research and in a few years offer another analysis and interpretation as time tests these and other methods. Leadership will necessarily have to keep up with constant changes in the techniques of training. There is no doubt that the movement will push forward to new frontiers.

Dr. G. M. Gloss of the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University has recently completed a handbook on *Recreational Research*. The work consists of 63 pages of concentrated materials from theses, doctorate studies, magazine arti-

cles, books, bulletins, reports and surveys, and an assortment of yearbooks and papers. The specific topics consist of history, social effects of recreation and leisure, play and education, public recreation, professional aspects, personal health, and a well-chosen bibliography. This work should prove of interest to all leaders in the field of recreation as a directory of recreational research information.

The field of recreation is wide open to research and there is no doubt but that the near future will bring forth many additional works. Every indication points to the continued influence of recreation on modern life and hence the need for further knowledge and understanding of proper administration, organization, structure, content, program activities, evaluation, training, and other aspects pertinent to its growth.

HAROLD D. MEYER

University of North Carolina

CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR. By Walter C. Reckless. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940. 316 pp. \$3.75.

Admitting that a single volume on criminology cannot encompass all the available material and that a dogmatic treatise is inopportune, Reckless maintains that "a general work on criminology needs to reorganize the severe shortcomings of the extant knowledge and contain an abundance of tentative and qualified statements." Further, it is declared that the comparative method has reason to be the better approach to both the study and teaching of criminology. Specifically the purpose of the author "is to give critical understanding of the nature and variation of criminal behavior and the ways by which society has dealt or can deal with it."

In many parts of this work Reckless has made elaborate coverage of the topics.

In these parts there is a coherence of approach and purpose which is not so apparent in other instances. Crime causation studies, for instance, are depicted as acting like traditional strangle-holds on the advance of criminological knowledge. It is emphasized that if these holds were loosened enormous resources would be released which could be used for the materialistic and comparative studies of crime. Such studies would concentrate on age, area, nationality, class, etc., and in the opinion of the author would be more important to the understanding of criminal behavior than doubtful causation studies. The purpose and argument from here on become somewhat confused. Michael's and Adler's theses regarding the lack of etiologiical bases for causation are presented at the same time that Reckless admits "more progress has been made in showing the inadequacy of causation findings than in arriving at validated and scientifically acceptable findings." The author's position herein could become so metaphysically infused that his argument finally seems to detract rather than add to the quality and clarity of the book.

The book is good and "easy" reading. Where the purpose has been adhered to a very nice coverage of the topic follows. The chapter on the development of reformatories and prisons is a very scholarly piece of work that is rich with comparative material. Social disorganization and crime is very ably reported as are the chapters on causation, prevention, and treatment. The reviewer was very favorably impressed with the criticism the author directs at the various "utopianistic" prevention and treatment plans. The innovation of the sample classification forms, actuary reports, individual articles on foreign penology systems, etc., found in the appendix makes this section

of the work a very informative and instructive addition. The illustrations are additions of great need in any criminology text and Reckless has made a definite contribution in placing before the student this select material which otherwise might only be heard of.

The only unfavorable aspects of the book are found in the treatment of the court, parole, probation, and the Negro criminal. These topics are hardly surface-scratched and deserve far more consideration than has been accorded them. Pardon may also be added to the preceding list. Especially in defining the conditional type of pardon does the terminology become so simple as to be confusing. The motivation behind pardon is not even noted. These topics are not to be overlooked for they are certainly good materials for a broad approach and are by no means definitely clarified at the present time.

Again, the book is well worth reading. There is a great amount of material found in it that does not find its way into the everyday text. Yet, by no means can the edition be described as fully conforming to the original design of the author. In a final analysis it may be said that although Reckless has made a gallant attempt it seems that he has assigned himself a task that not only he cannot surpass but also a task that does not seem possible for coverage under the capabilities of any one present writer in the field.

GEORGE K. BROWN

University of Pennsylvania

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. By Edward W. Gregory and Lee Bidgood. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 653 pp. \$3.50.

This text presents the fundamental principles of sociology with illustrative material selected from the cultural setting

with which the American student is familiar. While the book is written especially for the student who is limited to an introductory course, the one who is preparing for more advanced work is kept in mind.

The authors' approach and point of view is indicated by the definition of sociology which is as follows: "Sociology may be defined as the study of the social process and its principal resultants: culture and personality." The plan of approach as set forth by the authors is consistent with the definition of the subject.

The book is composed of an introduction and seven major parts. In the introduction there is a brief statement as to the nature of human association and social relationships. This is followed by a discussion of the nature and methods of science and an exposition of the point of view of the authors. Part I is a discussion of social relations. In this part there is an analysis of society and the group, contact and interaction, social forces, customs and social institutions, culture, and personality. Part II deals with population and the human community. Chapters are devoted to the distribution of population, competition for space, human ecology, the rural community, town and village, and the urban community.

Part III presents an analysis of the origin, nature, and development of the family as a social institution followed by a discussion of various maladjustments and problems arising from rapid change in modern society. Chapters are presented on the development of the family, the family as a social institution, and social change and family adjustments. Part IV deals with race and culture. There is presented a general discussion of race and culture contacts with special emphasis on nationality and racial groups

in the American population. Chapter headings are as follows: race and culture contacts, the European immigrants, the mountaineers, the American Indians, the Orientals and the Mexicans, and finally, the Negroes.

Part V is devoted to social maladjustments with emphasis on specific social problems. There is a presentation of the general nature of social problems and social maladjustments. Among the problems analysed are poverty and dependency, physical and mental defectiveness, crime and delinquency, and the social programs in relation to health, recreation, social work and eugenics. Part VI deals with social change and social control. The nature of and factors underlying social change are presented followed by a discussion of social disorganization and social progress. Other topics in this section deal with collective behavior and social control.

Part VII presents a survey of the origin and development of the science of sociology. Currents of social thought paving the way to the emergence of sociology with particular reference to the United States are emphasized. The final chapter in this section is a condensed treatment of the fields of sociology in relation to other social sciences.

The point of view of the writers is consistently that of the cultural sociologist. Personality is interpreted in terms of culture. Differences between persons, classes, groups and races are explained primarily on the basis of unequal participation in culture. Social institutions other than the family are given less attention than in many sociology texts. The same may be said for the emphasis on social processes such as cooperation, competition, and conflict. However, cultural and social change which may be

considered a social process is treated adequately.

At the end of each chapter there is a long list of well selected and clearly formulated questions together with an extensive and well chosen list of references. These should make the text interesting, readable and stimulating for the student, and teachable for the instructor. It seems to be especially adapted for use in courses which include a treatment of social problems in relation to principles of sociology.

GLENN R. JOHNSON

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina

JONATHAN EDWARDS. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. 406 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

MARGARET FULLER: WHETSTONE OF GENIUS. By Mason Wade. New York: The Viking Press, 1940. 304 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

The biography of Jonathan Edwards, although written for those interested in the development of religion in the United States, is a book that the sociologist cannot wisely pass by. It offers an opportunity for an excursion in culture in a society alien in time, but not foreign historically. Scattered through its pages is a quantity of sociological data, as the portrayal of one of the great thinkers of the colonial period uncovers the folkways and mores of colonial New England.

The following are examples: the divorce of Jonathan's grandmother, the woman who brought into the Edwards' line its subsequent taint of insanity, obtained in spite of ecclesiastical opposition by a husband after twenty-four years of patience with periodic repetitions of infidelity "too grievous to forgitt and too mutch here to Relate" (pp. 18-19), an event almost without parallel in seventeenth century America; the split in the

New England churches between those who wanted the Old Way of singing, each as he pleased, and the New Way which permitted the congregation to arrive at the same place in the hymn at about the same moment and in the same key (p. 107); a battle within the churches that brought forth the singing school, a foremost institution in frontier America, which had a considerable courtship function (pp. 107-108); the seating in the meeting-house by the committee of five that had the responsibility of assigning each member of the congregation his local social position, not likely to be changed for generations (pp. 170-172); the protest against Edwards' purchase of a Negro girl for eighty pounds, on the basis that this was an unreasonable luxury (p. 218); the refusal of Jonathan's father to baptize the child of a man who had married without obtaining the consent of the bride's parents (p. 226); the expulsion of the Yale student who had been so indiscreet as to say that one of his tutors was lacking in grace (p. 238); and Jonathan's investigation and punishment of the youth who somehow obtained and circulated a book on the duties of the midwife, fifty-six persons being investigated in a scandal that rocked the community (p. 222) and eventually led to an opposition that cost Edwards the pastorate that all had expected would last his life time.

Nowhere can the reader more easily catch the atmosphere of this one-time social New England saturated with its morbid religionism than in this book as the reader is led by the author through the childhood of Jonathan Edwards. Miss Winslow has given us the definitive biography of New England's greatest theologian. She has also furnished the sociologist a fascinating record of early American folkways.

There is still a general lack of appreciation of the part women have had in the making of American culture. This explains the relative neglect of such persons of influence as Margaret Fuller. She was primarily a woman of creative thought who found self-expression in talking. Anne Hutchinson was the first to win a considerable reputation through her gift of conversation. This is an art, and one in which women have excelled. Had Margaret Fuller lived in our time, she undoubtedly would have become an internationally known columnist for this type of writing is essentially talking.

Both the psychologist and the sociologist will find a special interest in Margaret Fuller's childhood career because she was educated chiefly by her father who reared her as much as possible as he would have had she been the son he desired. His program was arduous, teaching her Latin and English grammar at the same time, starting her reading Latin at six. This foundation, the later fellowship of Emerson, Hawthorne, Channing, and other leaders in New England thought, the stimulation of Harriet Martineau, and the literary opportunity of her day gave Margaret Fuller for a brief time the leadership in feminist self-consciousness which so soon was to take a more aggressive expression. Her belief in the equality of the sexes she once stated as follows:

... By Man I mean both man and woman; these are two halves of one thought. I lay no especial stress on the welfare of either. I believe that the development of one cannot be effected without that of the other. My highest wish is that this truth shall be distinctly and rationally apprehended, and the conditions of life and freedom recognized as the same for the daughters and the sons of time; twin exponents of a divine thought. (Page 132.)

Wade's *Margaret Fuller* is indispensable to any student of American women. It catches the spirit of a genius who hap-

pened to be a woman. More important, it places her in the atmosphere that brought her gifts to light. She was herself an exception to her exclamation, "Now there is no woman, but only an overgrown child!"

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina

THE CIRCUIT RIDER DISMOUNTS. A SOCIAL HISTORY OF SOUTHERN METHODISM, 1865-1900. By Hunter Dickinson Farish. Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1938. 400 pp.

Most students of Southern history know that the Methodist Episcopal Church split over the question of slavery in 1844-1845, that a Methodist Episcopal Church, South was formed, and that the two branches of the Methodist Church fought each other for some seventy years after the Civil War before they became reunited. But the story that Mr. Farish tells is one that has not heretofore been told. The author is not merely writing church history; he is essaying to evaluate the Methodist Church as a factor in the social history of the South. The result is an excellent work. It lets in light on several places heretofore dark. Even in the first chapter on the origins of Southern Methodism the author advances and clearly substantiates a view that has not always been accepted. He says that the Methodist Church, South was not only the most popular church in the South in 1860 but that it was the most powerful; that it comprised more culture, wealth, and social influence than any other Protestant church; and that it was so closely tied in with the planter-political governing class that Northern clergy often spoke of as "the aristocratic church." Many writers have held that the Episcopal and Presbyterian church gathered in most of the wealthy planters and that the more evangelical Methodist Church was the

church of the less wealthy small farmers. Mr. Farish believes that the planter element, normally Episcopal in Virginia and the Upper South, became Methodist in their church affiliation in the Lower South.

The preferred position that the Southern Methodist Church held in 1860 was lost during the War. The Northern Methodist Church was noted for its loyal support of the Union cause and from the very beginning of the war bitterly attacked the Southern Church. In 1863 Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War in President Lincoln's cabinet, acceding to the request of Bishop Edwin R. Ames, issued an order directing the Federal generals to place all Southern Methodist churches that did not have a loyal minister at the disposal of the Northern Church. From that date until 1876 the Southern Church had to fight for its very existence. During the war it lost more than 30 percent of its white membership and property and about 60 percent of its Negro members. The Northern Church felt that the war had ended too soon, otherwise it would have taken all the churches and property. It condemned the Southern Church as a "treason tainted" and "degenerate, bastard Methodism," and claimed all the territory won by the Federal troops for the loyal church. In spite of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States had upheld the Plan of Separation it now claimed all property of the Southern Church. Mr. Farish is of the opinion that if the Northern Church had shown a conciliatory attitude and a charitable spirit toward the Southern Church a reconciliation of the two might have taken place at the close of the war. Instead the Northern Church showed hatred and enmity, and refused even to accept a fraternal delegate from the Southern Church.

The Northern Church, according to Mr. Farish, was guilty also of keeping alive sectional hatred. It was vindictive, supported the Radical Reconstruction program, urged the death penalty for Confederate leaders, and desired that the Southern States be reduced to territorial status and kept out of the Union ten years longer. It claimed that "it was called upon by the providence of God, to enter that territory and plant there the true principles of government, morals, and religion." It proclaimed that its "great business" was "to reconstruct Southern society." It favored both social equality and suffrage for the Negro. Throughout the Reconstruction period it based its program upon sectional and Northern concepts of society, and urged the Northern Protestant churches "to bear down upon the South with all their force." This the Methodist Church did. It supported the Republican Party and the Lodge Force Bill and condemned Southern Democrats. The reviewer is of the opinion that this story generally circulated in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South would have had an adverse influence on the recent unification movement.

In spite of such handicaps the Southern Church recovered rapidly. It found a new group of aggressive leaders including lawyers, business men, statesmen, and educators as well as clergy. By 1870 it had nearly recovered its white membership of 1860 and had aided in the organization of a separate church for Negroes. It revived its religious press, reopened its old and founded new schools and colleges, and spread its teachings through Sunday schools and young people's organizations.

The Southern Church then adopted a broad social program and began to attack contemporary social problems. The greatest work of the Southern Church prior to 1900 was accomplished in the

field of education. Prior to the war it had played a leading role in higher education. It had established the first college in Alabama and the first college in the world to grant degrees to women. Methodist colleges were not narrowly sectarian. They included on their faculties Catholics, Presbyterians, and Baptists as well as Methodists. And such leaders as James H. Carlisle, Holland N. McTyeire, Landon C. Garland, and James A. Duncan enabled the Methodist Church to exert "what was probably the most potent liberal influence in the field of higher education in the South from 1865 to 1900." Not all of its work was liberal, however.

While favoring women's education it opposed women's suffrage; it opposed and defeated free tuition in State supported colleges in South Carolina; it gave lip service only to the rights of labor; and it opposed the study of Darwinian philosophy. Mr. Farish takes the position that Bishop McTyeire acted only as a business executive in terminating Dr. Alexander Winchell's services at Vanderbilt University. The reviewer cannot see that Mr. Farish establishes his point.

On the Negro question the Church occupied divided ground. Following Bishop Atticus G. Haygood it accepted responsibility for the Negro and his education, going so far as to support the idea of white teachers for Negro schools. It championed the Blair Education Bill, and spoke out boldly against prejudice, lawlessness, and lynchings, and demanded a fair trial and equality before the law for the Negro. But it opposed co-racial education and any idea of social equality; and it insisted that the Negro must be governed by the white.

This is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the South. It is all the more important because it treats of

religious and cultural forces which have been more or less ignored by the general historian. But some of the author's conclusions are questionable. His position that there was no free public education system in the South prior to the Civil War is at variance with that of Edgar W. Knight in *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South*. The reviewer accepts Knight's view as correct. Mr. Farish's statement that abolition added four million illiterates to the school population is misleading. The Negroes were not all of school age. Likewise the statement that controversy over the control of Vanderbilt University "ultimately led the General Conference to sever all connection with the institution" is misleading. The Church fought vigorously to retain control and did not willingly relinquish its ownership.

The author has attempted to be fair and impartial in the telling of this story but his sympathies with the Southern Church are clearly evident. One may criticize him for excess quotation from the sources. The quotations detract from the easy flow of style and leave the impression that the author did not always thoroughly digest his materials. It causes him also to repeat some of the ideas over and over again. These are minor faults, however, and the reviewer would welcome a continuation of this theme down to the present from Mr. Farish's pen.

FLETCHER M. GREEN

University of North Carolina

WHAT COLLEGE PRESIDENTS SAY. By Edgar W. Knight. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. 377 pp. \$3.50.

An inclusive history of American higher education has not yet been written. We have only accounts of individual colleges and universities and histories of specialized but isolated areas, such as endowment, the

curriculum, the elective system, and boards of control. *What College Presidents Say* brings us one step closer to seeing the history of higher education steadily and whole.

Professor Knight marshals the public utterances of college presidents so as to present in panorama the high points of their thinking during the last seventy-five years. Through more than 600 quotations, 208 college presidents from 106 institutions state their views on higher education. These utterances have been arranged under six categories, each of which constitutes a chapter of the book. In essence they are (1) the presidency, (2) the purposes of higher education, (3) the weaknesses of higher education, (4) the organization and administration of higher education, (5) faculty relations, and (6) the obligations of higher education to society.

While normative or value judgments and other forms of interpretation are disclaimed, there is a most interesting final chapter which summarizes this history as told by contemporaries. In it Dr. Knight explains that "presidents tend to be a trifle loquacious and discursive on many subjects," that "there is no relation whatever between the length and the quality of their speeches," and that they "talk on subjects which they are not always competent to discuss." From such implications the reviewer infers that Dr. Knight had to thrash through a lot of chaff to winnow the intellectual grain he presents. As additional interpretation, there is the significant declaration that college presidents "do not generally do or say things or encourage the doing or saying of things that 'may disturb the harmonious intercourse of those who support, and those who direct and govern' their institutions." "Many of the presidents,"

Knight continues, "say what they are expected to say by their supporting constituencies. When they insist on saying what they are not expected to say they are soon not allowed to say anything."

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that the public addresses of presidents are poor sources for discovering their basic thoughts. It is only the occasional tough-minded Tappan, Barnard, Gilman, Harper, or Graham who gets beyond platitudes and generalities. Nevertheless, Professor Knight does a very real service to students of higher education in making available the more usable portions of ephemeral, out-of-print, and never-in-print documents that must be examined before an inclusive history of higher education can be written. Possibly a more specific set of categories for classifying the pronouncements would have increased the usefulness of *What College Presidents Say*. A more comprehensive index might have achieved the desired end. For example, it is difficult to discover what the presidents said on evolution and the other scientific-religious controversies of the period or how they were aligned on the issues of the elective system.

ERNEST V. HOLLIS

College of the City of New York

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Volume XLV, Number 3. Featuring symposium on "The Contribution of Dr. Sigmund Freud to the Psychological and Social Sciences, to Literature and to Modern Life." Edited by Ernest W. Burgess. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, November 1939. 207 pp. \$1.00.

The American Journal of Sociology devotes its November 1939 issue to appraisals of Freud by people occupying authoritative positions in diverse fields. To sociologists and other students of human beings and their relationships whose interest has not yet been quickened to the point of

making direct and thorough acquaintance with Freud's writings, the articles should prove valuable as stimulus and partial orientation. To the reader who has already familiarized himself with psychoanalytic premises, techniques, vistas, conclusions, and with the more established resistances against them and criticisms of them, these pages are perhaps more interesting for the light they shed on their respective authors than for their illumination of Freud and his contributions to world thought and therapy. For seldom is the caliber of a critic's own mind and soul revealed so starkly as by his choice of criteria—implicit no less than explicit—for weighing the worth of great men.

Havelock Ellis in "Freud and the Changed Attitude toward Sex" achieves scientific objectivity without sacrificing a perspective that takes full account of human and esthetic values. He has nothing new or startling to say: but there are rare advantages in viewing a mountain peak from the top of an adjacent high hill. Less panoramic, yet seldom more sharply focused, are the articles by Jelliffe, Brill, Lasswell, Burgess, Horney, Healy, Wittels, Kroeber. There is also a paper by Kenneth Burke called Freud—and the Analysis of Poetry. Perhaps the primary virtue in all these articles is their recognition of the relatedness of their subject-matter, and their testimony of the indebtedness incurred in allied provinces for Freud's major insights into the basic motivations of human beings.

The most thought-provoking pages in the symposium are those of Gregory Zilboorg's "Sociology and the Psychoanalytic Method." Zilboorg has many interesting comments to make regarding the respects in which concepts derived from the study of individuals can and cannot be carried over into sociology. Particularly pertinent today are his para-

graphs about "the return of the repressed" and his warning that the health and stability of a civilization cannot be gauged accurately without taking into account the relationship between the scope and depth of the repressions it requires of its individuals, and the outlet it allows them in some contiguous layer of its culture and group customs. For if frustration of personal gratifications is imposed beyond an endurable optimum, and the ensuing hate is not permitted to seep out the window, it will stalk through the door. Or, under greater stress, will explode through the roof—to the destruction of all within geographic range. Which suggests, to a people desiring self-preservation, the folly of imposing on other nations gratuitous restrictions and humiliations; and the wisdom of permitting its own individual citizens as much freedom as is compatible with the freedom of his neighbor.

PAULA SNELLING

The North Georgia Review

- SOCIAL CASE WORK IN PRACTICE. SIX CASE STUDIES. By Florence Hollis. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1939. 313 pp. \$2.50.
- THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CASE WORK. By Gordon Hamilton. New York: Columbia University Press for The New York School of Social Work, 1940. 388 pp. \$3.00.

This has been a rich year for the literature of social case work with the addition of Miss Hollis' and Miss Hamilton's books. (A book on social case work at the present time has to be evaluated from the point of view of its service to the practicing professional person. This evaluation has to be made in terms of the basic problem, or problems, in the realistic practice of social case work. No matter what definition is chosen for social case work, it is an irrefutable fact that social case work is always carried on in an agency (there are rare exceptions to this fact).

This agency is an institution of the community—a crystallization of the community's will to help—expressed concretely in the extent and breadth of its support, both financial and moral. In other words, there are beginnings and endings to the help the agency offers. This agency has called upon professional social workers to consummate its helping purposes efficiently and wisely. Before the days of public welfare, perhaps agencies were not as articulate regarding the practice of social case work, but certainly now with the development of the great public services, the communities, and sooner or later the agencies, know the extent and breadth of the resources within which they must operate. The problem then of social case work rests in the question, how can social case workers be helpful within this agency framework? Part of the answer to this question lies in the services of the agency being known and made available to the client. The practicing social case worker must know the realities of her agency's resources and its meaning to the client and to herself in practice. In both Miss Hollis' and Miss Hamilton's books there is a limited degree of relating agency policy, practice and structure to the client's needs and the case worker's practice. Both Miss Hollis and Miss Hamilton fail to bring the matter of the dynamic aspects of agency function into the definitions or descriptions of social case work which they have selected.

Implicit in our basic problem of social case work is the need of social case workers having a knowledge of human behavior and human nature. Miss Hollis' book is particularly valuable in regard to this specific aspect of our problem. Her final chapter delineating the fundamental principles of growth and development, is a terse, informative one, beautiful in its

simplicity and emphasis. Her comments on the cases preceding this chapter are rich in descriptive material of the way people have handled varying life situations. In contrast to these descriptions in Miss Hollis' book, the descriptions and interpretations following the cases in Miss Hamilton's book seem meager and unsystematic.

Another aspect of our problem is the evaluation of methods and skills in helping. This involves the application of knowledge to varying individual situations in the helping process. Miss Hollis' book in contrast to Miss Hamilton's, is somewhat more helpful in this problem. Her main premise seems to be that a well disciplined self-aware social case worker with an extensive knowledge of human behavior and motivation can through this evolve a helpful practice. This puts a large task on a case worker because her practice must rest so completely on her knowledge of behavior rather than being shared with a professional knowledge of helping and the resources of agency and community. In reading the cases in her book one is immediately impressed with the fact that the case worker's helping in these cases rests so largely on the limit of the case worker's knowledge of motivation. There is one case as an exception to this, however. The treatment of these cases brings up the old problem of case work as differentiated from therapy. The answer to this, presumably, rests with two factors. Will professional therapists, psychoanalysts, and psychiatrists always be as willing for social case workers to share the field with them, and are social case workers competent enough to perform this function adequately? On the other hand, are communities ready to support such an expensive function, and expensive it must be if social workers prepare themselves

adequately to sustain such a demanding function.

Miss Hamilton in contrast to Miss Hollis, takes us through the traditional forms of case work practice. She feels that Miss Richmond's definition of case work is still the best and that the old forms of history taking, investigation and treatment, can be revitalized by our present knowledge to be as significant to real practice as they were before. What works and seems pragmatically sound has evidently not influenced Miss Hamilton as much as the traditional approach invigorated by the idealism of democratic principles and the functional use of the psychiatrists' knowledge and skill.

After reading both these books, one is certainly impressed with their scholarship and ability to stimulate thinking. Still many questions seem to be left unanswered. Have we found in these books a criteria of good practice? Miss Hamilton's book being a more comprehensive one that Miss Hollis' certainly indicates that good practice follows the line of her traditional approach. Miss Hollis perhaps starts us in pursuit of this question by having rid herself of older forms and methods and gives us more hope for something new and dynamic in the field of case work. There is still the need in the field of social case work for a definitive exposition which finds case work as differentiated from therapy (Hollis) and from reformation of the individual through socialization according to some norm of the case workers' or agencies' selection (Hamilton).

ISABELLE K. CARTER

University of North Carolina

HOUSEBOAT AND RIVER-BOTTOMS PEOPLE. By Ernest Theodore Hiller. Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1939. 146 pp. \$1.50 paper bound; \$2.00 cloth bound. Tables.

This volume is a first-class report of a sociological study of 683 households in six Illinois counties bordering on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. The original purpose of the study was to show the manner of living of people in relatively simple circumstances but dependent on the direct appropriation of part of their means of livelihood. The theoretical sociological objective was to inquire into the manner of living of the people living in houseboats, tents, shacks, and other types of inferior shelters in the river bottom environment. The households interviewed included these three groups along the river banks and households living back from the river but deriving or having in the past derived part or all of their living from the river.

The information collected about these households included such items as education, ways of gaining a livelihood, institutional participation, folkways and mores, and location in relation to towns and villages and the river. The chapter headings show in brief outline the type of data assembled and analyzed. Following the first chapter, which is largely explanatory, the headings are: Squatter Occupancy on Marginal Land; River Self-Help Pursuits; Vocational Assortment; Unemployment, Mutual Aid and Relief; Types of Shelter and Residential Mobility; Household Composition and Family Organization; Ecological Organization and The Community; Cultural Continuity and Ecological Organization. These subjects show that the author collected and discussed data much beyond the scope originally conceived in initiating the research.

As a sociological treatise the work is of high quality. The organization is such that one can read the first few paragraphs in each chapter and have a fairly complete story of what the research find-

ings are. It is concisely written and well documented with references to corollary materials. These references and the bibliography in the back of the book show that the author is thoroughly conversant with the literature in the field. Throughout the report are numerous conclusions partaking of the nature of sociological principles. For example, "We are forced to conclude that the river's margin is characterized by both community disorganization and a lack of adaptive and normative agencies. Neither the conduct affecting other people nor the use of the natural environment is adequately regulated; and the isolated households do not share normally in the culture of the larger community."

The approach on the part of the author to the analysis of the data appears to be the ecological and sociological determined by a thorough acquaintance with the literature in theoretical sociology and that dealing with the frontier in American history. Owing to this approach the reader feels that the author is constantly beset with the idea that his conclusions must fit into a preconceived mold, either classically sociological or poignantly historical. This sometimes leads to what one feels is potentially academic and/or contradictory. Thus, on page 133, it is pointed out that the free squatting and floating privileges and the pursuit of self-help opportunities on the rivers are survivals of frontier traditions rather than adjustments induced by the depression. But on the following page he indicates that the number of families fishing, museling, and gathering driftwood as a means of making a living rose from 260 in 1929 to 328 in 1934. These were the years of the depression when thousands of families were going to submarginal land not through following any tradition of the frontier but as a means of finding

something to eat. I am inclined to believe that the same thing happened along the rivers. This error, if such it may be judged, to me represents a common fault of the sociologists, offering explanations of the simple by means of formulae and the obtuse.

The volume is typical of a large mass of sociological writing which is of great value but having its value obscured by the details. Time after time throughout the book, figures and facts presented in the tables are repeated in the text. This, unfortunately, is much the pattern of the sociological analyst. I fear that such a method darkens the light that sociological research has to throw on human problems, leading the layman to think that sociological findings belong to the esoteric rather than to the mental reality of every day living.

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Anacostia, D. C.

HOLYOKE MASSACHUSETTS. By Constance McLaughlin Green. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Yale Historical Publications. No. XXXIV. Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor. 425 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.

As indicated by its subtitle, *A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America*, this book is something more than a mere town history. It is a description of the growth of a community from an agrarian beginning through the stage of deliberate creation into a cotton mill town to its development into an industrial city of considerable complexity in its economic bases and exceeding complexity in its political, social, and religious life. Some parts, as for example, the ups and downs of the individual companies—mainly cotton and paper mills—are a little too detailed for the more general reader. These, however, must be of considerable interest to Holyoke and its

vicinity, and are, of course, to students of those industries.

The book is valuable to the student of the community. From a "made" town under the regime of the absentee cotton lords, Holyoke developed into an industrial city with civic consciousness and pride in its place as a great paper manufacturing center. During the process it was absorbing wave after wave of immigrants. It is illuminating to have set down here the specific details of the adjustments and accommodations that were made among these nationalities with their different religious faiths, their different attitudes toward politics, schools, churches, and social life.

The general sweep of the economic history is a sample of what was going on all over the United States during the last three-quarters of a century. The community side of the story is that of a veritable American melting pot in miniature.

HARRIET L. HERRING

University of North Carolina

BLACK WORKERS AND THE NEW UNIONS. By Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 473 pp. \$4.00.

Black Workers and the New Unions is a study of the most dynamic period in the history of the American Labor movement. It is essentially a description of the drive of organized labor to bring workers in the iron and steel, railroad car shops, and meat packing industries into the unions as a result of the impetus which clause 7A of N.I.R.A. gave to the effort to organize all labor in the United States. The industries chosen lend themselves well to purposes of the writers because of their basic importance in our economy and because of the large number of unskilled and semiskilled Negro workers in these industries.

Judged by the task which the authors set themselves, namely, to show "how race prejudice is formed by economic relationships," the work successfully achieves its purpose. The widening of the sum total of knowledge of the place of the Negro in the iron and steel industry is one of the book's chief claims to distinction.

Beyond all this it is an interesting book not because of the theoretical principles which it develops, but because of the story which it tells. The workers themselves, governmental and union officials and shop foremen, reveal the subtle, uncanny, and sometimes brutal part which race prejudice plays in labor relations. Prejudices develop against Black Workers who act as strike breakers and especially against those who refuse to join the union or come out on strike at the invitation of a union which has opened its doors to them. Negroes, on the other hand, become ardent company men in the presence of a type of craft unionism which excludes them from learning and practicing the higher skills on the ground of race rather than because of a lack of ability. They are slow to join a union which has been guilty of prejudiced attitudes toward them, when the union itself has been forced either by necessity or enlightened self-interest to open its doors to them with results which are alike injurious to their own well being and to the cause of unionism.

Employers who are opposed to the outside union develop company unions and plans for employee representation and sometimes fan the flames of prejudice in order to undermine the solidarity of labor or break a strike. In times of industrial conflict the Negro suffers most from violence. All communist trade unionists suffer severely but, when "redness" is added to the "high visibility"

of the Black Worker, the severity of the oppressive measure employed by police and company officials is greatly intensified.

But there is a happier side of the picture. The Black Worker, North and South, has demonstrated that where he is honestly dealt with by union officials, who treat him as a man, and allow him to share in organizing and operating the union, he becomes a loyal union man. The success of the C.I.O. in organizing Negro workers is due to this fact. Racial prejudice is not the only attitude implicit in the attempt to bring the Negro into unions. In commenting upon the work of the S.W.O.C. one of the investigators writes, "The effect of . . . day by day co-operation in union affairs has been to draw white and Negro workers together to an extent perhaps never before equalled in this country."

The discussion of the class structure of the Negro Community should stimulate critical thought. Since the matter with which this section deals is controversial and a severe indictment of practically the whole of the professional and middleclass Negro group, the discussion would lay greater claim to objectivity had the attitudes of upperclass Negroes toward labor organization been subjected to more rigid and painstaking examination.

The study of the resources of the Negro community is sufficient to support the claim that there is need for an organization which will make for a more complete incorporation of Negroes in the labor movement.

The suggestion that the program of Negro labor should center in the formation of a United Negro Trades, for the purpose of improving the relation of the Negro to existing unions, seems both reasonable and practical.

HENRY J. MCGUINN

Virginia Union University

RESEARCH AND STATISTICAL METHODOLOGY: BOOKS AND REVIEWS, 1933-1938. Edited by Oscar Krisen Buros. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1938. 100 pp. \$1.25.

PRINCIPLES OF THE MATHEMATICAL THEORY OF CORRELATION. By A. A. Tschuprow. Translated by M. Kantorowitsch. New York: Nordemann Publishing Company, Inc., 1939. 194 pp. \$3.75.

SOME NOTES ON LEAST SQUARES. By W. Edwards Deming. Washington, D. C.: The Graduate School, The Department of Agriculture, 1938. 181 pp. \$1.50.

Reprinted from *The 1938 Mental Measurements Yearbook*, the volume edited by Buros is designed primarily for those with statistical interests in the fields of psychology and education. Books from other applied fields with considerable emphasis on method are included, however, as well as more theoretical treatises on statistical methods. Sociologists will find the coverage of methods of population research slight, probably because most of the literature has not appeared in book form.

Excerpts from reviews in standard journals give adumbrated critiques and evaluations of the books chosen. These are necessarily so brief that probably the chief use of the volume will be as a check list of publications within the time period covered. It is doubtful, however, if it is sufficiently comprehensive in coverage, or sufficiently detailed in reviews of the books included to set it definitely apart from selective, annotated bibliographies on the one hand, or the *Book Review Digest* on the other.

Tschuprow's book, written 15 years ago, makes an excellent case for mathematical as against nonmathematical analysis and interpretation of quantitative results of research. Perhaps the case needs pleading less urgently in 1940 than in 1925, but it is nevertheless comforting to statisticians to see it well pled.

A clear exposition of the theory basic

to the understanding and use of correlation is achieved without too great demands on the mathematical facility of the reader, with the exception of the section on normal correlation. Even though the developments of recent years are not touched upon, sufficient elucidation on continually used methods is afforded that the book is highly recommended for those applied statisticians in any field who wish to expand their understanding of underlying theory.

It is feared that the number of readers able to understand Deming's monograph will be rather limited. This is unfortunate, for there exists no other treatment on the more general problem of least squares available to those who in actual practice of application need an elementary exposition. It is greatly to be hoped that Dr. Deming will expand this work into a larger volume containing the prerequisite foundation he assumes in his readers for the understanding of this last third of a year's course in least squares. Even so, a reader with some mathematical background by diligent effort can dig out from this monograph solutions to certain problems on weighting, etc., although explanations of the textbook type are condensed almost to the vanishing point.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

University of North Carolina

ECONOMICS FOR CONSUMERS. By Leland J. Gordon. New York: American Book Co., 1939. 638 pp. \$3.00.

THE CONSUMER AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER. By Warren C. Waite and Ralph Cassady, Jr. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. 389 pp. \$3.50. Tables.

In *Economics for Consumers* Professor Gordon of Denison University approaches his subject from the standpoint of the nature and the extent of the control of production by consumers. In his analysis of the factors shaping the average con-

sumer's pattern of wants he deals with the influences of custom and fashion, but stresses the great degree of control of producers over consumer choices through advertising and salesmanship. He is greatly impressed by the amount of buying motivated by the desire to impress others with one's social standing, that is, for conspicuous consumption as Veblen would call it. He also emphasizes the large amount of installment selling and of misrepresentation by sellers, and gives much space to warnings against the pitfalls of such practices.

The latter part of the book deals with the factors and agencies through which consumer control of production can be made effective, namely, the things that must be done to enable consumers to know the real qualities of what they buy and to develop their ability to buy in accordance with their needs and tastes. Special chapters are devoted to the discussion of practical budgeting methods for families, and individuals and families; guiding principles for buying shelter, for investing savings and for buying insurance; the cooperative movement; the standardization of the more frequently purchased goods; and the character of governmental services which offer guidance to consumers. He stresses the dominance of producer interests in shaping public policies, and urges consumers to bring pressure to bear to have the government publish freely the sort of information now kept confidential by the Bureau of Standards, and to have more stringent laws enacted to curb misrepresentation of goods by producers and merchants.

Professor Gordon's style is slightly journalistic, yet quite suitable as a college text. It will be found quite interesting and readable by the average high school graduate, and is undoubtedly of more value to the average reader than the usual

introductory text in economic theory, because of its clear exposition of the principles of good buymanship. A stickler for accuracy in the use of scientific terms will find fault with some of the author's terminology, but these flaws do not seriously affect the practical usefulness of the book.

Far different in style and viewpoint is *The Consumer and the Economic Order* by Professor Waite of the University of Minnesota and Professor Cassady of the University of California. Though shorter than the average economics textbook, it covers more ground than most books dealing with the economics of consumption. The chapter on consumers' cooperation (pp. 320-335) well illustrates their ability to cover all the important considerations clearly in a few pages. They assume that the economics of consumption is concerned with the role of the consumer in the economic order, the manner in which goods are chosen, and the relation of human welfare to the amount and distribution of wealth. The book is intended as a text for students who have already been introduced to economic theory. Little space is given to the psychology of choice, but a good deal to the elasticity of demand for different types of commodities. There is considerable instruction in good buymanship. Perhaps the academic detachment in treating the current consumer problems and the limited amount of vivid illustration make it less interesting than some other texts in the field. On the other hand it seems to cover the whole field in a masterly way, and reflects the many years of attention which its authors have devoted to this field of study.

FRANCIS S. WILDER

Biltmore College

THE CULTURE HISTORICAL METHOD OF ETHNOLOGY.
By Wilhelm Schmidt. Preface by Clyde Kluck-

hohn. Translated by S. A. Sieber. New York: Fortuny's, 1939. 383 pp. \$5.00.

This work provides for the first time in English a concise and up-to-date statement of the Graebnerian or Vienna school of ethnology. The American interest in problems of cultural diffusion, both in primitive and contemporary cultures, will be enriched by this delineation of the concepts, techniques, and methods of the *Kulturkreis* school. The author discusses, in a style often more acrimonious and personal than is usually found in American scholarship, the descriptive ethnography of American anthropologists, who have been prone to dismiss the contributions of Graebner and Schmidt, partly because their concepts and techniques have been arrived at, not as the result of field work, but by what has elsewhere been called the philosophic method in social research. The method yields adequate but technical results in this treatise by Father Schmidt, which, in the painstaking and erudite way so characteristic of German scholarship, sets forth a thorough commentary on Graebner's work and provides canons for the criticism of source material and a logical frame of reference for the examination of ethnological data which will be of considerable interest to students of cultural and folk-regional sociology. Such scholars will not only wish to test the logic of Father Schmidt's systematics but they will also wish to put his theories into practice in field studies. In this connection, the reader will find an interesting differentiation between the concepts of culture circle and culture area—a distinction which, while indicating the author's strong preference for the former, does not destroy the possible value of both as research leads.

The excellent discussion of culture as a whole, its meaning and significance, coming from the pen of a student of world

renown who is thoroughly conversant with the productions of European scholars, is in itself valuable, apart from the ethnologists' acceptance or rejection of the methodological viewpoint. The seven chapter topics are: genesis and spread of the culture historical method; sources of ethnology and their methodical treatment; criteria for the establishment of culture relations; means of establishing culture circles and culture strata; means of establishing internal culture development; directions for the establishment of cultural causality; ethnology and its related sciences.

The translator has prepared a carefully constructed glossary of terms, many of which belong entirely to the culture historical school. There is in addition a three-fold index—of subjects, of authors, and of places mentioned in the text—which is most useful in making the text clear.

MYRON F. LEWIS

University of North Carolina

THE BUILDING OF A NATION'S HEALTH. By Sir George Newman. New York and London: Macmillan Co., 1939. 479 pp. \$6.00. Illustrated.

The general thesis of this book, clothed in a plethora of facts, is found in this statement at the very beginning: "One illustration of man's increasing knowledge and control of natural forces may be found in the steady advance of the science and art of Medicine, in the prevention and healing of disease, in the increase of health and human capacity, *and in their collective application to the whole community.*" (Italics are mine.) A master builder, Sir George lays the foundation of British medical services brick by brick, introducing and orienting his readers to the subject with a history of the public health movement in England which had as its inevitable goal the National Health

Insurance Act of 1911. It is natural that as a physician first and a medical officer next, Sir George is concerned not only with the quality of medical care and, therefore, medical education and training, but also the wide distribution of medical service. "It is obvious," he states, "that an essential and primary condition of a natural health system is the existence and competence of a medical profession . . . [whose] objective and purpose is the creation and maintenance of health. . . ." In recent years, the whole course of medical training has been altered, with an increasing concentration on the student's part "throughout the whole period of study" to normal health and to the prevention of disease. Of especial interest to the social scientist are such recent additions to the medical curriculum as psychosomatic medicine, normal psychology, studies of industrial diseases, and such courses on administration as ". . . the legal and ethical obligations of the registered medical practitioner (under the National Health Insurance and other Acts of Parliament)."

With this background we are introduced, first to health insurance, "the eagle given flight by the wings of curative medicine and preventive medicine," and then to the complex structure of public medical services in England. Contrary to common opinion, compulsory health insurance was not *sui generis* in 1911. Over 70 years Parliament had attempted "to establish an appropriate central health agency for the supervision of the health and well-being of the nation." While the health insurance principle was well-established, and as a practice was long accepted in England through the activities of the Friendly Societies and private medical clubs, "In 1911, when the National Health Insurance Bill was introduced in Parliament," just as in 1939 when

the National Health Bill was introduced in Congress, "it lacked public support . . . for then there was no definite electoral demand for the Bill. The Cabinet, the House of Commons and the public had to be persuaded that the Bill was necessary." Public and legislative inertia would thus appear to be universal. The section on National Health Insurance is as concise a review of the history, purpose, and functions of English health insurance as this reviewer has come across. In addition, the descriptions of the numerous public medical services are coordinated not only in terms of medical history and periods of social reform but with such related services as education and welfare.

By experience, as Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education (1907-1935) and to the Ministry of Health (1919-1935), Sir George has been in intimate touch with national and local medical work. Such a career alone qualifies him to write this book. A philosophy stating—"that national health—in every country in the world, everywhere, and at all the time—depends first upon knowledge of the science and art of medicine . . . and then upon its social application by the medical practitioner, by the State, and by the people of that State" . . . —justifies it.

For a full understanding of English medicine, this single appraisal in one volume stands out among the first. Though technical, it is well-written and will serve as a good source book for the social scientist, the public health man, and the physician. There are numerous and useful citations. Despite the spate of reports, studies, and monographs on health insurance and related subjects, it is with pleasure that I recommend these tightly packed 500 pages.

JOSEPH HIRSH

U. S. Public Health Service

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION IN SOCIAL WORK. By Pierce Atwater. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1940. 319 pp. \$3.50.

What might be termed a first printing of this book, even though it was in mimeographed form, appeared in 1936, and was reviewed by the present reviewer in some detail in these columns in March 1938 (pp. 439-441). However, this second volume under the same title is much more than a second printing. It has been completely revised and rearranged with valuable additional material. Moreover, its cumbersome mimeographed form has been superseded by a neat piece of book work which is not only much more easily handled but more easily read. However, this is a rich volume and can not be skimmed hastily or lightly. Except where occasional cases are used as illustrative material, paragraphs are compact with pointed statements of fact, piled one upon another, with a minimum of elaboration. In short, the book is concise, yet clear and simple in its presentation of fundamental principles of administration in social work, and leaves elaboration and application to the administrator or teacher. It, therefore, serves admirably the double purpose of a basic guide for courses in social work administration as well as a useful tool for the administrator and his staff. Moreover, here is a book which will not only be of inestimable value to the administrative group, but one which is simple enough to be read by the professional staff for whom it should pave the way to an understanding and appreciation of social work administration.

The arrangement in the revised volume is more logical than in the earlier one. It begins in Part I with the executive, himself, and the personal qualifications requisite for social work administration, and builds up through the relations of the

executive to the staff, to committees and boards, to the whole community including administrative problems in semi-rural communities. This part is followed by a discussion, in four chapters, of day-to-day administrative problems including those relating to personnel, finances, offices and their equipment, and general operating policies. The broad problems with which the administrator must deal follow in Part III, namely, politics, central planning, research, public relations, publicity methods, principles of money-raising, and organization of the community-wide campaign. All of these chapters contain new material in varying degrees, some following the earlier chapters rather closely, with others greatly expanded.

An added contribution in the revision is Part IV, which is entirely new and which discusses field training for administration in two chapters: problems in teaching administration and outlines of field-work instruction in administration. Many teachers of social work administration have felt the lack of field work experience to supplement the classroom instruction, but have also realized the difficulties inherent in such a program. Field work experience in social case work has been developed to a high degree and under adequate supervision. This is probably due in large measure to the requirements of the American Association of Schools of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers. Further-

more, courses in social work administration as such are comparatively recent and, as yet, no standardizing group or organization has made field work experience in administration a requisite. As a consequence, agencies cooperating with schools of social work are staffed with case work supervisors, qualified and competent to supervise students, while in many cases no such person is available for instruction in the practical problems of administration of the agency. In some cases, the administrator, himself, is too busy to add this additional responsibility to his many tasks and has no assistant to whom he can delegate such instruction; in other cases, and this is particularly true of the public welfare agency in rural and semi-rural communities, the administrator and administrative staff are less highly trained and less experienced than is the professional staff, and there is hesitancy in discussing and analyzing administrative policies and procedures. Much of this is due to the emphasis which has been placed on the professional side of social work in contrast to the administrative. However, there is a growing realization of the importance of administration and the necessity for coordination of all phases of social work, and these two final chapters in Mr. Atwater's book are unusually suggestive for both social agencies and schools of social work.

KATHARINE JOCHER

University of North Carolina

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